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THE
GENIUS AND MISSION
OF THE
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH
IN THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

BY THE REV. CALVIN COLTON, LL.D.,

PROFESSOR OF PUBLIC ECONOMY, TRINITY COLLEGE,

Author of "Reasons for Episcopacy," &c.

With a Preface,

BY THE

REV. PIERCE CONNELLY, M.A.,

SOMETIME DOMESTIC CHAPLAIN TO THE LATE EARL OF SHREWSBURY
AT ALTON TOWERS.



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PREFACE.

BY THE REV. PIERCE CONNELLY, M.A.

It is not necessary to agree with Professor Colton's views of Church-history or Church-polity, in order to be satisfied that his work is one of public interest.

For the second time in three hundred years, Religion has forced itself into the field of English politics. Its unhuman exclusion is no longer possible. And it comes into the field in the shape of no feeble novelty, waiting for time and circumstances to give it an organization, influence, and a position. It comes in the shape of the old embodied MYSTERY, the mighty HARLOT-MOTHER, that is long used to crack the sceptres and trample on the crowns of merely territorial sovereigns. And it comes with unlooked-for developments of strength, and with accumulated knowledge and confidence and scorn. Rome's faith, strong as that of angels, in the reality and depth of human pride and cowardice and credulity; her contempt, worthy of Lucifer, for our carnally divided Christianity, have been strangely justified. The check which she received in the days of Leo X., had the solemnest reparation at the hands of allied Europe, when, in 1815, at the bidding of Christian England, the Impostor-Pontiff was recognized as Priest and King, and conceded a higher rank than Emperors. And in 1829, when the Reformation was repealed by Act of Parliament, there was virtually decreed to the Pope, a prospective share *in the government of the British Empire greater than*

any that he had ever had in ante-Tudor times : such a share as must, with the certainty of necessity, make a Constitutional Sovereign little better than his Suffragan.

The stupendous subsequent progress of Popery throughout the whole world, under any circumstances, would be a fearful fact for the human family. There is, however, something in the actual helplessness of European Protestantism which renders it doubly fearful. Not only have we no ready organized antagonism to Popery in existence ; but the mutual repulsion, in all the bodies which should go to make it up, leaves little hope of coalescence, even among sincere followers of JESUS CHRIST ; and we have had evidence enough how little the Gospel can be spread or peoples made Christian, by dealers in religion, by mere partners in the profits of any religious corporation. *And what shall the end be ?* Humanly speaking, Popery has indeed more or less to retard it ; but nothing effectually to crush it in its progress.—The Papists, or rather their priests, are fain to believe that the great battle has been already fought and won, and that it is only the work of time, to take possession of the *quasi*-surrendered people of England and Anglo-America ; to breed priests and build temples adequate for degrading these nations into such as the Spanish or Italian, or French or German. But *Men*, whether infidel or Christian, think differently ; they are ashamed to doubt that we are on the eve of some great Revolution. We believe the battle ground may yet be England. Professor Colton seems to think that day gone by, and that America is to be the scene of final conflict. We have good hope for the issue, be the battle where it may : for we know in WHOM we trust ; but, we repeat it, humanly speaking, the not very distant triumph of Popery and Arbitrary Power seems inevitable. There is plenty of antagonism to what makes Popery. But there is not only no organization of antagonism ; there is among high and low, and more even among high than low, the most *profound ignorance* of Popery, and a more or less gross

misconception of its nature and its principles and its aims.

In what is called "the Church of Rome" itself, delusion is well known to amount to absolute bewitchery with hundreds of thousands. But, that the bewitchery of her delusiveness should reach, not only Papists, but also, and almost equally, Infidels and the professors of a veritable Christianity, is a far greater marvel. Words lose their meaning; facts lose their authority; logic ceases to bring conviction, when Popery is in question. There seems, many a time, even among full-grown, well-meaning men, a tacit agreement to forget all history, to repudiate the testimony of the senses, and to ignore the existence of a moral sense, when Rome is talked of. One has only to enter into his closet; to commune with his own heart in earnestness, in order to be persuaded that what Popery teaches is unnatural and devilish. *But we forget what a thing, must be a mightily organized, unnatural, and devilish religion! We forget what a thing, unnaturalness and devilry must be, when it takes in hand, and is allowed to take in hand, the government of nations!*

To talk of the struggle that is coming on, as one between two religions only; or to talk of the conflict between Popery and Christianity, as a conflict between two sects of one and the same religion, is hypocrisy, if it is not imbecility. There never was in heathenism a religion so deliberately and so maliciously anti-human, or so perfectly and so consistently opposed to the religion of JESUS CHRIST, as fully-developed Popery. This is no longer matter of opinion; matter of argument and inference. It is *Fact*. Fact, as simple, as demonstrable, as undeniable, as the motion of the earth. Pascal the Younger demonstrated it in 1851; and his demonstration, though attempted to be obviated by authority of the Church of Rome, was not attempted, (and it will not be attempted,) to be denied. But Rome is awfully and always MYSTERY. Every phase of her is *Mystery*. Every development of her is *Mya-*

tery; forever varying Harlot-breeding Mystery; Truth made the handmaid of falsehood, gentleness of cruelty, every thing earthly that is glorious or beautiful held up as the price of allegiance to something else than the Creator. And, while she is, she will always be, not only Mystery, but GREAT. Great in her ubiquitary, spirit-domineering organization; Great in her inviolable unity; Great in her appropriation of every dogma of Revealed truth; Great in her contempt of every heavenly and every human law; and Great in such determined, hell-deep unpitifulness, as coward human nature shrinks from believing to be possible, even among fiends. No one need doubt but that there is a true Church of Christ in communion with Rome; but the poisonous vine, that climbs and clasps and hides the trunk, on which its meretricious luxuriance is lifted aloft and spread abroad, may as easily become identical with the venerable oak it blasts, as Popery become a part of Christianity. To speak of the "Church of Rome," the actually constituted Church of Rome, as *Christian*, is to speak of the REDEEMER as BEELZEBUB, is to speak of GOD as the great Principle of evil instead of good. He only who has seen within the secret chambers of the Papacy; he only who has been witness of the exquisiteness of cruelty that can be inflicted on a SOUL; he only who has felt ring through him wailings such as the rack or fire could never have extorted; he only who knows how obedience is secured at the expense of reason, and superinduced madness set up as "*perfection*;" he only can tell how blessed a refuge, even the dark solitude of Atheism is, from faith in the god of Rome and communion in the cup of her ABOMINATIONS.

It is of the essence not merely of Christianity, but of Natural Religion, to PROTEST against this stupendous iniquity of Popery. For Popery is not only a Satanic counterfeit of Christianity; it is a *great earthly Polity built upon the denial of all Natural Law*. A *visible, ubiquitary infallibility* blots out at once God

from the universe, and the divine image from each individual soul. Reason is no longer reason, and conscience is nothing but a snare to lead men into insubordination to their priests. Independent civil government can no more exist, with such a system recognized, than men and beasts can live together in equality. It is the duty of every human being,—in proportion as he recognizes the obligations of religion, of virtue, or of reason,—to fight against the mighty Imposture. There can be no true religion for a nation; there can be no established code of virtue; and reason can be only the pandar of luxury and iniquity, where Popery is not held in execration.

And let no man who reads these words, with any earnest sense of his responsibility, shrink from bringing his reason and his conscience to the fair examination of conclusions which may be new and unwelcome to him. Henceforth (it must never be forgotten) the *only* false religion possible for Europe or America is Popery. Nor can there ever again be organized such another polity of antagonism to human liberty—civil, social, and domestic—as Popery. But Popery is not only possible; it has a possibility of its future mightiness increasing with its increasing wickedness.

So long, then, as this Satanic counterfeit of Christianity is any where recognized as Christian, or a Popish priesthood supposed compatible with the peace and well being of human society, so long must it remain the *first* test of any religion's divine ordinance, that it is antagonistic to Popery, or PROTESTANT.

And so long as the blasphemous imposture of the Papacy is recognized by any single human government, so long must the religion, and the Church which is most antagonistic to it, that one which most efficiently breeds horror and hatred of it, be the *best* religion, and the *best* Church *for the Civil State* and for society at large.

Let Christians, and especially let Churchmen, lay it well to heart. *All religions must have a national and*

political as well as personal bearing; they must be good for *nations* as well as *men*. And, so far as nations are concerned; so far as any, even the smallest Commonwealth, civilly and socially considered, is concerned; from the moment a Christian Church makes truce with Popery; from the moment she ceases to be in open and mortal hostility with that inhuman polity,—from that moment she becomes, in her degree, *APOSTATE*; from that moment she becomes pestiferous to the commonweal, a nursery of treason to the civil power, a nursery of treachery in social life; a seed-bed of alternate despotism and anarchy, preparing exaltation and power for priests, at cost of general degradation.

There is nothing ever so little at variance with the true spirit of the Gospel, there is nothing, in all human experience of iniquity, nothing in the reach of human conception of cruelty, which Rome has not shown herself ready to treat as an ally. Mighty in her convictions of her mightiness, she has no fears of infidel statesmen or of infidel philosophy; she is as ready to breed scepticism or atheism as monasticism, anarchy as despotism; and she wields the follies just as she does the crimes of ambition; makes a weapon of the nun's pride or the priest's lust, just as she does of a king's wilfulness or a Minister's venality. But the supremacy of God's eternal law, the inviolability of private conscience, cordial submission to the civil power, all follow in the train of CHRIST's blessed Gospel; and that preached Gospel, the open Bible, is Rome's single fear and hatred; heresy, or the reading of the Bible, in Rome's code, is the single, real crime. And the Bible it is, *alone*, that has made the strength of England *and of the Church of England*. It is the Bible alone and the Church of England's pre-eminence in divulging it; the daily, widely, completely published Word of God alone, as Rome deeply feels, that hinders Popery from bringing the whole world to be a precinct of the Vatican, and establishing the Inquisition as the only last Court of Appeal for mankind.

But this deep wisdom of Satanic Rome, like that which devils exhibited in the lifetime of our LORD, has a counterpart, as St. Paul teaches us, in an universal natural grace. How much more where the higher gifts of the HOLY GHOST have been long poured out upon a people, and the Holy Scriptures have been long a national inheritance! It is not the numbers only of God's chosen ones that are enlightened; but the light of their knowledge is reflected upon the children of this world also.

The mighty energies of the natural man, which have of late years been developed to such an unwonted extent in Papal countries, have only been suspended, not surrendered. But *un*-principled, unharmonized, unorganized as they are, and as, without the annihilation of the Papacy, they must be; united only in hatred of their Rulers and of that religion which is their degradation, what have they in store, but a long revenge of revolution upon revolution, and more and more widely abounding destruction? Till the Continent of Europe, and Ireland and South America are once evangelized, and Popery, like Islamism, utterly driven out, the hopes of civil liberty or of established peace between peoples and their Rulers is a baby-dream, or a delusion kept up knavishly. But in England, the unfaithfulness of temporal and spiritual rulers, the decadence of the moral tone of public men, the predominance which money combinations have acquired in the State and Church, have not been able to break down or to trample out the religious character of a Christian nation; and though, as we said before, we are ready to confess that there are no visible barriers competent to resist the flood of Popery; though the Established Church corporately stands aloof, and every single political party in the State holds out its arms to Rome, we still believe God's saving mercy is in store for England. The heart of this great people is still *human*, and all its *natural affections* sacred,—unblighted by accursed asceticism and monkery. The heart of this great people, fight as

it may against the higher influences of divine grace, is still *truth-honouring, reverent, and loyal*. And, watching, either by the light of prophecy or of reason, we cannot look forward to any thing more than, at most, a temporary triumph of Papacy over the Civil Power and national independence. Still God is the God of order: and in the moral, as in the natural world, the relationship between cause and effect, and between means and end, must continue for ever to exist. The isolated courage or the ready discipline of straggling bands will not prevent the advances of an army. Organization must be met by counter organization. And, just now, the question for the people of England and for the Queen of England is, What organization will most effectually be PROTESTANT? The present state of the Established Church is as impossible to last, as a vacuum in the atmosphere. The progress of Christianity and the progress of Popery alike make it an impossibility. The bishops of Harry VIII's England, or of the Stuarts', are not bishops for one half of Queen Victoria's England. Tudor parish churches are often as little churches for the parish poor as if they were within the Arctic Circle. The Universities—of which Lord Bacon, in his day, scouted at the idea that they were equal to a "yield" of clergy adequate for the kingdom's wants—have still the same monopoly; and the moral sense of all bred in them has still the same trap laid to snare it, in "the swearing them to *blanks and generalities*." Not only is the present state of things impossible to last much longer in the Established Church, but the existence of the Church of England, as an Establishment, much longer, is just as impossible, without, (in the words of certainly one of the wisest Churchmen of the age,) "*an enlargement of its basis*, on one hand, and some representative organ on the other, which shall neither be Convocation *as it is*, nor the Houses of Parliament *as they are*."* Truly

* Archdeacon GARBETT's "Letter to the Bishop of Chichester." Hatchard.

a large, a catholic basis will be needed for such a Church as can harmonize the diversities which are inevitable, and make the absence of rigid uniformity (as it ought to be) another bond of real unity. And only such a Church can now do the Nation's work. Only such a Church can be much longer tolerated as the Nation's Church.

Professor Colton thinks that "the battle between Papal power, and freedom on the American Continent is yet in the distant future," (p. 162) ; but he acknowledges that even now "there is a strange unnatural truce in the United States, arising from the fact, that *the two great political parties of the country both have need of the votes of the subjects of the Pope of Rome*" (p. 108) ; and he thinks the American Episcopal Church all the better adapted for its great mission, (as Protestant,) from being wholly disconnected with the State. We confess that neither his reasons nor his facts appear to us to warrant any such abstract conclusion. Hampered, betrayed, travestied, as the Church of the Reformers has been here in England, she still has, in her consolidation with the monarchy, and in the reverence and affection still surviving for her in the great body of the people, such materials of strength, as the Anglo-American Church, humanly speaking, has just now no prospect of. The "falling off" in the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, from 1840 to 1850, Professor Colton himself represents as "truly an amazing, an alarming one," (p. 238). And this, with advantages equal, to say the least, to those of any other body of Christians ! and with that freedom from external influences, that absolutely independent self-government, so much desired by many here in England ! It is doubtful, whether at this moment there are not more places of Popish worship in the Anglo-Saxon United States, than Anglo-Protestant Churches ! And it must be remembered that a Protestant Church accommodates *one* Congregation, and generally only one, (that is, as *many as the edifice can hold at one time,*) however

numerous the attending clergy may be ; while a Popish Church may, and often does, suffice for five or ten *different* congregations on the same Sunday : the size also of a Protestant congregation is limited by the necessity of hearing and uniting in *common* prayer ; there is avowedly no such necessity of limit to any assemblage of Romanists for worship. So long as the eye can reach the altar or the priest, so long is the farthest member of the crowd held to be present, and partaking in the "sacrifice."

In England Popery has profited, to the full extent of her immediate resources, by all the open and secret political encouragement which has been given her ; she has turned to wise account every judicial obsequiousness, every ecclesiastical abuse or negligence, every popular development of love for painting, and for music, and for architectural beauty ; and, above all she has gained unnumbered footholds for her sorcery, in the *general want of any thorough knowledge of her own moral, political, or religious character*. The successful progress of this fearful Polity, whatever may be thought or pretended, is so great as quite to justify all that Papists boast of it ; and its success is ten times more important from its nature and from the sphere in which it has been had, than from its actual amount. But on the other hand there has been no "falling off" in the Protestant Church of England. There has indeed been a natural and very intelligible "falling off" of scores of clergymen ; and thousands of miscultivated and imaginative among the laity, out of very truthfulness and consistency, have fallen victims to a systematic treachery ; but the body of the faithful was perhaps never so conscious of the value of God's Word, nor was there ever so large a number of their children educating under Pastoral care : a new intelligence, moreover, of the connexion and inseparableness of religion and politics, is, thanks be to God, strengthening the holy, hereditary horror and hatred of Popery *in the lower classes*.

True, Popery works silently, as well with loud noise; and makes the darkness seem light, and the light seem darkness. And she is ever steadily working at her one work, whatever mask she wears; and her work may seem to be accomplished, before the great effort to resist it be really begun. But, whether before or after the Establishment be swept away; whether before or after the dream of diplomatists be realized, and England be brought into "*harmony with the Continent*" by having a Papist on the throne; soon or late, the struggle will begin in earnest. The *Let-alone* policy can *now* lead to nothing but to Rome's universal Empire; to nothing but the ubiquitary triumph of an Impostor Vice-Christ over the body of Christ's true Church, as well as of Spiritual despotism over the supremacy and independence of the Civil Power. And it is not so much to governments, as to their pastors, that the people most naturally look to protect their country and their religion against the mighty enemy; and in England as in America, if these pastors be found unfaithful, or incompetent, their pastorship will be abruptly ended. The days of prescription, and of interests vested in misguiding or neglecting souls, will soon be gone by for ever; and if Radicalism and destruction—if wild democracy and fanatic infidelity come to be thought better able to repel, better able to do battle against the Papacy, then too the days of an Established Church of any kind, then too the days of the Crown of England, and of her aristocracy; then too the days, not of England's moral only, but even of her commercial greatness, may all be numbered.

These may seem the presumptuous forebodings of a gloomy, distrusting Churchman: they are the forebodings of at least a loving one, and of one, who, if he distrusts, distrusts not the spirit of the Established Church, nor the possibility of her sudden rising up and shining as a light to lighten all the world, but who distrusts the spirit of this world, which has crept into her, and who fears the help of those that set store

by her inward truth and beauty, only for the sake of the evil and the foul which is at present bound up with them. But, be the sad forebodings founded or unfounded, honest and earnest men will value any means of preparation for whatever is to come. And no knowledge at this crisis can be more opportune for English Churchmen, than the experience of their own brethren (it might almost be said of themselves) in America. It is there, as some think, God, in His gracious Providence, has set us our lesson. It is there He has given England an experience by anticipation of the Church's *own* weakness and the Church's *own* strength—there He shews the responsibilities of independence, and the penalty of being repudiated by the people as a nation ; and, it seems to the present writer, that the volume to which these pages are intended to be an introduction, without being likely to lessen the desire of Englishmen to preserve the union between Church and State, may serve to shew the *policy* of charity, and the absolute *necessity* of a large and truly catholic spirit in Churchmen, independently of the moral obligation which must always rest upon the State, of enlarging, to the utmost limits excusable, the boundaries of a National Establishment.

June 29, 1853.

THE GENIUS AND MISSION

OF THE

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

DEFINITIONS.

THE sense in which the term *genius* is used in this work, is different from that indicated in its application to denote the superior natural endowments of an individual. All the peculiar attributes of nations, communities, governments, and societies of whatever description, represent the genius of these bodies respectively, in distinction from others of the same class. There is the peculiar genius of the Americans, of the English, of the French, and of all other nations. There is the genius of monarchy, and the genius of republicanism; and the genius of one monarchy in distinction from that of another. Nominal republics are not alike, and they may be radically and fundamentally different; as for example, the republic of the United States, and that lately set up in France—so soon transformed into an empire. It arises principally from the difference in the genius of the *two nations*.

In the same manner, we find a difference in the genius of all the religions found in the world, as in that of Christianity as compared with that of Mohammedism, and in these two as compared with all others. Then again in the different branches of the Christian Church, and in the different sects, we find a genius peculiar to each, and usually distinctly marked. These differences of character lead to different results, in the operation of every form of religion on the public mind. This is the sense in which the term *genius* is used in this work.

As we must necessarily have much to do with *Church polity* in the progress of this work, it may be well in the outset to define it. By polity we mean ecclesiastical adaptations, and not Divine organization.

The polity of a Church is precisely the same thing to a commonwealth of Christians, who have adopted it, and who are regulated by it, as the constitution and laws of the United States are to the people of the United States; or as the constitution and laws of any state are to the people of that state. The constitution and canons of the American Episcopal Church constitute her polity; and the constitutions and canons of the several dioceses of the Church, occupy the same position in relation to the constitution and canons of the whole Church, as do the constitutions and laws of the several states of the American Union, to the Federal constitution and laws. There is, therefore, a general polity for the whole Church, and a diocesan polity for each diocese. The sum of

the whole constitutes the polity of the American Episcopal Church; though it is the general polity with which we shall have chiefly to do.

When it is said, the Church orders or directs so and so, authority is implied. Is that authority tangible or intangible? If tangible, it can be specified, so that one can see where and what it is. We cannot appreciate authority which does not present itself in palpable forms. In the first place, then, so far as our present subject is concerned, authority is based on religion, and addresses itself to conscience. The authority of the Church supposes a polity composed of a conventional platform, and a code of legislation based thereupon. And how is this polity connected with Divine authority as a sanction? Precisely as the polity of a state is. "The powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever, therefore, resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God." (Rom. xiii. 1, 2.) This is said of civil or political institutions, without exception of time, place, or character. They are all, bad and good, in every age and nation, more or less bad, or more or less good, "ordinances of God;" in other words, arrangements of Providence. Submission and obedience to them, is a religious obligation. And why? Because any society is better than no society, order better than disorder, for the purposes of the Church. Hence the inspired precept above cited, that the servants of God may have the best possible opportunities to set up a kingdom which is not of this world.

A Church polity ought to be an institution of a higher order, *more pure*, and more worthy of respect,

than civil government. Ordinarily it is so. But it is never perfect, where fallible men are its authors.* It ought to be regarded, in a higher sense, as the "ordinance of God." But the principle of obedience to it, is precisely the same as that which requires obedience to the civil magistrate. Is that sufficient? Certainly, for all practical purposes, and equally secure of the object, as if the polity were given and sanctioned by Divine Inspiration, and as if it were obeyed as such. There is always scope enough, under any Church polity, though of human device, and having imperfections, for the use of all talents in promoting the cause of Christ, without coming into collision with the polity established; so that there can never be a sufficient apology for such a disturbance. "Whosoever resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God." This is much more true in resisting the polity of the Church, which is the ordinance of God in a higher sense. Any violation of civil authority, is so far an approximation towards anarchy; and anarchy is not only a terrible condition of man, but the worst possible condition for the servants of God to do good in. Hence the heinousness of the offence of "resisting the power," and hence the Divine prohibition. In the same manner,

* "When general councils be gathered together (for as much as they be an assembly of men, whereof all are not governed by the Spirit and Word of God,) they may err, and sometimes have erred, even in things pertaining to God."—*Art. xxi. Eng. Ch.*

"As the church of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch, have erred, so also the Church of Rome hath erred, not only in their living and manner of ceremonies, but also in matters of faith."—*Articles of Religion, xix.*

any violation of a regulation of Church policy, is an approximation towards anarchy in the Church. The polity may be imperfect ; but that does not diminish the obligation to obedience, so long as it is law. There is always room for the full employment of any one's talents, without such infraction. The authority of a Church polity, therefore, is as complete as if it were governed by Divine inspiration ; and it may well be allowed to have a Divine sanction, much more emphatically than civil governments, the latter of which is so distinctly recognized by Saint Paul, in the opening of the thirteenth chapter of his epistle to the Romans.

An exception to a general rule establishes the principle. Extraordinary exigencies of society, both in church and state, may occur, and have occurred, to justify a revolution. But the general rule is, nevertheless, the standard precept imposed on the conscience by Divine authority, not to disturb civil society, and not to disturb a Church polity.*

* " It is not necessary that traditions and ceremonies be in all places one, and utterly like ; for at all times they have been diverse, and may be changed according to the diversity of countries, times, and mens' manners, so that nothing be ordained against God's Word. Whosoever, through his private judgment, wittingly and purposely, doth openly break the traditions and ceremonies of the Church, which be not repugnant to the Word of God, and be ordained and approved by common authority, ought to be rebuked openly, (that others may fear to do the like,) as he that offendeth against the common order of the Church, and hurteth the authority of the magistrate, and woundeth the conscience of the weak brethren. Every particular or national Church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish ceremonies or rites of the Church, ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying."—Articles of Religion, xxxiv.

CHAPTER II.

THE GENIUS OF CHRISTIANITY.

EVERY person will see, that the genius of the American Episcopal Church, which is announced on the title page of this work, as one of its two principal themes, occupies a position relative to other things of the same kind, and that a consideration of some examples of the others, will assist in the due appreciation of this. The genius of Christianity occupies its own, and naturally a leading position in the general subject, though not precisely of the same category as those portions of the Christian Church, which we propose to notice, by way of introduction, before entering on the main topic.

It is in the GRACE of the Christian scheme, that the appropriate genius of Christianity is developed; in its grace as it characterizes the plan of man's redemption, and as it is bestowed on unworthy recipients. Its plan is too high, too vast, too profound for an easy apprehension. Nevertheless, some advances may be made in this species of knowledge, by an habitual study of the great theme. One can think of the demands of justice against the transgressor, how stern and inflexible they are, and of the propitiatory offering that was made on the Cross, to satisfy those claims. One can think how this plan of grace to man occupied the councils of the God-

head from eternity; and how it must have been in view, in bringing the race of man into existence. One can think how it operated in the treatment of Adam and his seed after the fall; in the institution and purposes of the Abrahamic covenant; in the selection of the Hebrew race, to testify for the true God amidst surrounding and Gentile nations; in the institution and protracted observance of the rites of the Mosaic code; in the mission, life, doctrine, miracles, and propitiatory sacrifice of the Son of God; in his resurrection and ascension, leaving gifts for the Apostles, and for the Church of all ages; in the abolition of the old dispensation, and in the setting up of the new, by the hands of the Apostles; in the publication of Christianity, by the same agency, in its full and complete development; in the Church planted, set in order, and matured by the Apostles, and spreading over the world, against all the arts and persecutions of Judaism, and Paganism; in the maintenance of one Catholic Church, and one Catholic faith, down to this time, amidst all the vicissitudes, trials, and corruptions that have befallen the Church; and in bringing about the present hopeful and auspicious condition of the Christian world. Of all this we may think, and much more, as a steady and progressive exemplification of the grace of the Christian scheme, which, it will be understood, not only runs back to Adam, but back through eternity. It is now named after the MESSIAH, *Christian*, and, as we suppose, will never have any other name.

The Christian scheme was not devised for another race, but for ours; not for ours in an uncorrupt, but

in a fallen state ; not for one nation in particular, but for all nations ; not for people in given conditions and in given circumstances, but for people in all conditions and in all circumstances whatsoever ; not for the cultivated only, but for the uncultivated ; not only for the wise and prudent, but for the ignorant and barbarous ; not only for theologians, but for those who know nothing of theology in the technical sense of the term ; not only for those who are well versed in the Bible, in creeds, and in catechisms, but for those who never saw a Bible, nor rehearsed a creed or a catechism ; but who, like the thief on the Cross, only have time in their extremity to turn one look of faith, and say, "Lord, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom."

GRACE is a principle that can afford any thing except the invasion of other principles. which in the Divine economy, must be maintained. Its great law is to magnify itself by the extent and greatness of its favours. It is neither knowledge nor worthiness, nor any specific measure of either, that invariably constitutes the condition of its benefits. Its great aim would seem to be, to signalize the goodness of Him who bestows it. It was unsolicited, when first conceived ; and from that hour—but it was not an hour—from "the beginning," from a period of eternity without date, it has sought enlargement in the field assigned to it—the abode of fallen humanity.

Melchisedec, both king and priest, "without father, without mother, without descent, having neither beginning of days, nor end of life, but made like unto the Son of God a priest forever," was as much a type,

and for like reasons, of the grace of the Christian scheme, as of its great High Priest. Neither was to be regulated or limited by existing institutions. There was no model or rule for either; but both exceeded all example, and rose superior to all law, without violating any. "Now, consider how great this man was." Consider, also, the dimensions of the field which the grace of Christianity was to occupy. It was all earth, in all time. It was all heaven, with all its eternal ages. It was the universe, and all its tenants, as spectators.

Grace is the ruling principle of the Christian scheme—is its heart, its foundation, its top stone, its broad shield. The more grace, as a moral principle in the giver, bestows, the higher its gratification; and in God, as the author of man's redemption, the more it bestows, the more dazzling its beneficence. It was only necessary that there should be a satisfaction to justice; and while the Cross of Christ is visible, and the groans of Him who died thereon are echoed through the universe, as a certificate of the sacrifice of the Son of God, in the garb of humanity, there will not be wanting a consideration for the satisfaction of justice, however munificent the grace bestowed over this vast field of human delinquency and provocation. "Where sin abounded, grace has much more abounded."

As the complete redemption of human society, under the Christian system, in the progress of the execution of the great scheme of grace, was ordained to be accomplished under a system of means, apparently, and in the present practical view, actually

slow in its operations, leaving by far the largest portions of the human family, for thousands, perhaps many thousands of years, outside of the revealed covenant of promise, as administered under a prescribed system of sacramental ordinances, some embarrassment and much concern have been felt by those who have considered the subject, as to the final disposal of those myriads of the human family, commonly denominated heathen or pagans. Saint Paul, in his great argument to the Roman Christians, and elsewhere, would seem to have given us some relief on this point, so far, at least, as to have made a clear distinction between the obligations of those placed under the laws of Christianity, and of those providentially placed without the circle of those laws. We will here cite some of the passages from his hand, on this point:

“Sin is not imputed, where there is no law.” (Rom. v. 13.) “If the uncircumcision keep the righteousness of the law, shall not his uncircumcision be counted for circumcision? And shall not uncircumcision, which is by nature, if it fulfil the law, judge thee, who by the letter and circumcision dost transgress the law?” (Rom. ii. 26, 27.) “As many as have sinned without law, shall also perish without law; and as many as have sinned in the law, shall be judged by the law. When the Gentiles,” (the heathen) “who have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, these having not the law, are a law unto themselves, who show the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts meanwhile accusing, or

else excusing one another." (Rom. ii. 12, 14, 15.) "Now we know, that whatsoever things the law saith, it saith to them that are under the law." (Rom. iii. 19.) "The invisible things of him" (God) "from the creation of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead ; so that they" (the heathen) "are without excuse." (Rom. i. 20.) Saint Peter, also, acknowledges the grace of God, in the case of Cornelius, the centurion, uncircumcised and unbaptized though he was : "Then Peter opened his mouth, and said : Of a truth, I perceive, that God is no respecter of persons ; but in every nation, he that feareth God, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him." (Acts x. 34, 35.) It may, therefore, as we think, be assumed, that the principle set forth in the preceding citations from Scripture, viz., that the heathen will be judged by the light they have, and not by a law which they have not, is a part of the grace of the Christian scheme ; and how far that grace shall be extended in its operation for their salvation, through the atonement and offices of Jesus Christ, may safely be left with the mercy of God. We believe, that the merits of Christ are extended to irresponsible infancy ; and who shall say, that God, in his infinite kindness, and in the abounding grace of the Christian scheme, may not have placed irresponsible ignorance on the same foundation ? There are obvious reasons why a revealed law published as a rule of salvation, should express its conditions, so that they cannot be misunderstood, except by a wilful perversion ; and reasons equally obvious,

why little is said about the Divine plan for those portions of the human family who are "without this law." God has so far enlightened the Christian world on this point, as to let us know, that "whatsoever things the law saith, it saith to them that are under the law ;" and that an unbaptized heathen, who "does by nature the things contained in the law," will judge those who, having the law, yet disobey it. This much, as cannot be denied, is taught by Divine inspiration on this subject ; and this is the sum.

The Apostle Paul exults in the theme of abounding grace. "Not as the offence, so also is the free gift. For if, through the offence of one, many be dead, much more the grace of God, and the gift by grace, which is by one man, Jesus Christ, hath abounded unto many. As by the offence of one, judgment came upon all men to condemnation, even so by the righteousness of one, the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life. The law entered, that the offence might abound. But where sin abounded, grace did much more abound, that as sin hath reigned unto death, even so might grace reign, through righteousness, unto eternal life, by Jesus Christ our Lord." (Rôm. v. 15, 18, 20, 21.) Again : "I am persuaded, that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord." (Rom. viii. 38, 39.) In view of this grace, well might this Apostle exclaim : "O the depth of

the riches, both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out! For who hath known the mind of the Lord? Or who hath been his counselor?" (Rom. xi. 33, 34.) And yet there are those who think they know the mind of the Lord, as to the methods and extent of his grace; who aspire to interpret his unrevealed counsels, if not to assist in them; and who would limit his grace, and narrow it down to their own narrow views. Grace is a munificent attribute; it delights in conferring unexpected favours; and it will doubtless yet surprise the world and the universe—much more a narrow theology—by its vast and liberal gifts to man. The genius of Christianity, in this particular, as in all others, is worthy of its Author. A foundation of grace being laid in the Cross, it is meet that it should be illustrated, in a manner, and on a scale, corresponding, in some degree, with the value of the sacrifice, though it can never equal it.

The views above given of grace as characterizing the genius of Christianity, apply chiefly to the work of man's redemption as a *plan* of God. But grace as a personal benefit, bestowed by the Holy Spirit on the hearts of the faithful and obedient, naturally presents itself as a distinct subject of consideration. This is a great theme, and one of profound interest. To confer personal benefits here on earth, and in heaven, is, indeed, the great end of the plan. The entire scope of the purposes of the Christian scheme, has a personal bearing—contingently of course—but *nevertheless personal*. No one is ever born again

by the Spirit of God, or saved in heaven, except as a personal benefit; and the result of the whole will be a consummation of the plan of grace. Though there will be other and countless reasons, arising out of the character, works, and acts of God, for glorifying him in the songs of the redeemed, one of them will be in direct address to the Lamb of God: "FOR, thou hast redeemed us to God, by thy blood, out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation." "Thou hast redeemed us." (Rev. v. 9.)

Let it be understood, that it is the work of the Holy Spirit on the moral affections chiefly, of which we now speak; though it cannot be separated from intellectual light and enlargement. The mind always works with the affections, on all moral subjects, and towards all objects of a moral character. It is a part of the intellectual and moral constitution of man, that his affections should have a paramount influence, lead the way, and govern his conduct; and the Holy Spirit, in his influences on the mind and heart of man, acts in conformity to the laws of our being, by setting the affections right, that all else may be right.

It is, perhaps, true, and may be instructive, to remark, that the work of the Holy Spirit in executing the plan of Divine grace on individual subjects, is of a more or less decided character, according to the circumstances in which those subjects are placed. The first outpouring of the Spirit, under the preaching of the Apostles, was ordained to be a school of training for extraordinary trials. That was the grand *epoch of the world*, which constituted the mortal

struggle between Judaism and Paganism on the one hand, and Christianity on the other. It was a great agony of society, which produced a corresponding action in the minds of men; and the Christians of that day had need of higher endowments from on high, than in any subsequent period. Accordingly we find that the work of God's Spirit, on the hearts and minds of Christians of that time, was more decided in its character. It was the same during all the persecutions of the primitive ages, running down into the fourth or fifth century. The grace of the Holy Spirit was bestowed according to the demands of those days of trial. The truth of this remark is illustrated in the whole history of the Church down to this time, and not less so in the history of individual Christians. "When thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burned." (Is. xlii. 2.) In all great trials of the Church, and of Christians, the grace of God has been equal to the occasions. The kingdom of Divine grace, like that of Providence, appears to be a system of compensations. If God denies to his people the things which they naturally most desire, he pays them back, not measure for measure, but with the far richer communications of his grace; and he does it in the very article of death, which is the greatest possible, indeed a total deprivation of all earthly good. It is an unutterable agony, too, physically considered. It is seen and felt to be such by the spectators of the scene. With dumb astonishment, nature living, looks on nature dying. She feels there is an end of society between the parties; that an *invisible*, fearful power is rending the

heart-strings, and taking away the breath of a loved one; and the next moment all is still. A great struggle is ended; a fearful doom has obtained possession of its victim. No one knows what that departing soul experienced of the grace of God in that hour, except by the faint tokens of resignation, and, it may be, the smiles of joyful hope. But it is the last great trial, and the greatest, immeasurably the greatest of all. Nevertheless, with the Christian, it is paid back, first, in the grace which supports the departing spirit; and next, in the opening visions of a better and a brighter world, and by an entrance into its joys. How many examples have we of the triumphant death of Christians, in which grace overmasters pain, takes away all fear, and makes the message, terrible as it is to nature, welcome! "O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?" (1 Cor. xv. 55.) The victory is on the other side, and the sting is not. It is an exultation over the greatest foe of man, a defiance of his power. By what means? Grace, and that alone.

What is this mighty power, which so transforms the man in life, and which so o'ermasters the king of terrors? Whence is it derived, and on what account? Go to Calvary, and then turn back to the promise of the Holy Spirit, and you have the answer. The nature of man on earth is changed, and his great antagonist in the hour of death is subdued. "The strength of sin is the law. But thanks be to God, who giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ." (1 Cor. xv. 56, 57.)

It is, therefore, only when we have considered the

grace of the Christian scheme, as a plan of God for the redemption of man, and as a personal attribute in all those on whom it has been and shall be bestowed by the Holy Spirit, from the beginning to the end of time, crowding the portals and peopling the mansions of Heaven with the redeemed from all nations and tribes of earth, till time shall be reckoned no more, there to feel this grace in their hearts, and to celebrate it in their songs, through eternal ages ;—it is only then, we say, that we begin to appreciate the appropriate genius of Christianity. We do not liken it to a thing of earth, for it has no likeness here ; though we are compelled to use the language of earth to present the picture. To do it justice, we need an angel's pen, an angel's capacious thought, an angel's field of observation, an angel's powers, and an angel's holy admiration of the theme. To do it justice, we have need to be lifted to that elevation, where we might see it as it occupied the mind of God himself, before the work was begun. It is a spectacle exhibited to the world and to the universe, not to be fully appreciated—for that can never be—but as a subject on which the thought and admiration of the highest intelligences may expatiate, till thought shall begin to find its own incapacity ever duly to estimate it, and till admiration itself shall wonder at its own shortcomings.

CHAPTER III.

THE GENIUS OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.*

THE genius of the primitive Church, which, as a general historical distinction, we regard as running down into the fifth century, next claims attention, as a pertinent and very interesting subject. Its type is peculiar, and will probably forever remain so. Its most prominent feature is that of a *martyr-spirit*. The great Master led the way, and expired upon the Cross, not only as an atoning priest, which was the fulfilment of his especial mission, but as a martyr, which was the doom of an earthly tribunal; and he had foretold his disciples, that they also should suffer persecution: "In the world ye shall have tribulation. They will deliver you up to the councils; and they will scourge you in their synagogues; and ye shall be brought before governors and kings. Ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake." (John xvi. 33; Matth. x. 17, 18.)

The Christian Church was launched on a sea of commotion and blood. The timid disciples, who ran away from their Master in the hour of his trial, afterwards became heroic martyrs in their turn. Af-

* "Regarding the time usually allowed, as comprehended in the "primitive ages" of the Church, Bishop Burnet says:—"By the customs of the primitive Church, we mean, the order most generally used in the Church for the space of five hundred years after Christ."
—*Burnet's Reformation, Part II. Book III. Records.*

ter the descent of the Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost, they were armed for every exigency that awaited them. The seventh chapter of the Acts of the Apostles records a sermon and the death of the first martyr. His career was brief, but his end glorious. He saw "the heavens opened and the Son of man standing on the right hand of God;" and with this vision before his eyes, he kneeled to die, and with the true martyr-spirit, prayed for his murderers: "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge." Saul of Tarsus was there, "consenting to his death," and kept the clothes of the executioners. The blood of the first martyr could not but produce a sensation in the public mind, yet it abated naught of the fury of the persecutors of Christians, but only increased it. "As for Saul, he made havoc of the Church, entering into every house, and haling men and women, committed them to prison. Therefore, they that were scattered abroad, went every where preaching the word." (Acts viii. 3, 4.) Then, as ever since, the blood of the martyr was the seed of the Church.

The persecutions of the primitive Church made heroes of Christians. They were born heroes in their baptism. None but heroes and heroines dared to profess the name of Christ. The Apostles, after they received the Holy Ghost, felt the power of the example of their Lord and Master, and were ready to follow him by the Cross, or by the flames, or by any mode of violent exit; and Christians every where were animated by the example of the Apostles. It was forsaking all, risking all, and often sacrificing all, even life itself, for Christ. Sometimes, and in

some places, the Church had peace ; but the martyr-spirit was the spirit of the Church ; for at all times, and in all places, with brief intervals, the primitive Christians were exposed to martyrdom. It was a mighty transition of society, involving stupendous moral convulsions, such as the world never experienced before, and which it can never experience again,—a transition from Judaism and Paganism to Christianity. Judaism, as all know, is the most stubborn of all religions, an essential ingredient of which was originally, and always when it could be maintained, a civil polity ; and though subject to pay tribute to the Romans, and forced to receive Roman governors, the Jews still had their own laws and their own polity at the advent of Christ, and when the Apostles entered on their great mission. But Christianity announced the end of Jewish institutions, and tolled the funereal requiem of the Mosaic code, in the very ears of the nation, when the nation had power enough to avenge the insult, as the Jews regarded it. The beginning of the struggle scattered the Christian converts from Jerusalem to the four winds of heaven ; and they had multiplied in great numbers at the first preaching of the Apostles. The first day, the day of Pentecost, “about three thousand were added to the Church ;” and in a short time, before the persecutions commenced, Jerusalem swarmed with Christians. The martyrdom of Saint Stephen was the signal for the onset, and a single man, Saul of Tarsus, “made havoc of the Church.” The Acts of the Apostles will tell the *story*.

The Pagan world, too, which as yet had not been taught to respect Christianity, became, after a time, alarmed at this new doctrine. Christianity was equally opposed to Paganism, in all its forms, as to Judaism. Its doctrine struck at the root of both, declaring Judaism at an end, and the gods of Paganism worthy of no respect. To the Jews it said: Ye have crucified your own Messiah, in the person of Jesus of Nazareth, whom God raised from the dead; and by his resurrection, all your temple services, and your ancient rites, so long cherished, are abolished forever. Christ, the crucified one, is King of the Jews. To the Pagan world it said: These gods are no gods; and these rites are polluted and polluting. We proclaim the only true God, and Jesus Christ his Son, the only Saviour of man. He was crucified, is risen, and now claims your homage and submission. He is King of kings.

It is not strange, that men so bold, if they must be heard at all, should meet with opposition from these two quarters of human society, which comprehended all society. They did meet with opposition, and the whole world, Jew and Gentile, one portion after another, rose up in arms against them. The shock between the parties, the Jews and Pagans on one side, and Christians on the other, was great and fearful, and the scene a perfectly novel one. For the first time in the history of the world, physical force, on an immense scale, was systematically arrayed, and brought in conflict for a long protracted period, against moral force. We do not mean that there were never any persecutions of the advocates of true religion before;

but none of such magnitude, and of such long duration. It was a new spectacle to see men, women, and children, the strong and frail, die without resistance for opinion, and, when dying, to forgive their executioners, and pray for them. The very sight was the most powerful kind of preaching, and made more converts than any other mode of address to the feelings of the public.

It is true there were intervals of repose for the Church now and then, and here and there ; but for more than three hundred years, the Church was forced to be trained for the endurance of persecutions ; and some of them, under the Roman Emperors, were fearfully devastating on the ranks of Christians.

This to show, that the genius of the primitive Church, during the Apostolic age, and for a long time afterwards, was necessarily and profoundly imbued with the spirit of martyrdom. It is generally supposed that all the Apostles were martyrs. Martyrdom, for many ages, was often coveted. It grew into a proud distinction, not of the baser sort, but of glorying in the Cross of Christ. The martyrs usually were so divinely sustained, seemed so triumphant, and their faces were illumed with such gladness and joy, at the very moment of their sharpest pains of body, that spectators often wished to change places with them ; and many were the instances in which the sight brought out confessors on the spot, with the certain knowledge of being condemned to the same fate. It was a species of ecstasy, to which *their sympathies* elevated them, and they could not

resist the excitement. They wished only to die and be with Christ; for what was the world worth in such times? In some instances this desire of martyrdom may have been of a censurable character; but it generally proved two things: a world not worth having, and a vigorous faith, rarely, if ever known, in more quiet times. The Saviour died a martyr, though it was the smallest virtue of his death. His Apostles died martyrs, and gloried in it. Hundreds of thousands of Christians of the early ages died martyrs for their faith; and they, too, rejoiced in it. "The noble army of martyrs praise thee."

We may well believe in the special Divine support of the martyrs. It was a great cause in which they suffered. It was in the struggle between Paganism and Judaism on the one hand, and Christianity on the other, till the latter should gain a secure footing in the earth. The Saviour himself led the way, and though he suffered for an infinitely higher purpose than to attest the truth of his mission and doctrine, should he not regard with special favour those who suffered for him all they could suffer? He who knew all things, foresaw these troublous times, and predicted them frequently and emphatically; and he promised support to those who should suffer for his name's sake. It is, therefore, precisely in accordance with these predictions and promises, that the great army of martyrs should be divinely sustained. Their path is the most luminous of any part of Christian history. The genius of the primitive Church was such as will never be found again, because there will be no more occasion for it. The public opinion of the

world, which, when Christianity was first promulgated, was every where, and among all nations, against it, and which raised such persecutions against the primitive Church, is now, among all the most powerful and most influential nations of the earth, in favour of Christianity. The genius of the primitive Church, therefore, was perfectly peculiar, and its most prominent attribute was the spirit of martyrdom. That is always, not only a pure and exalted, but a vigorous and effective spirit. It shone brightly in its day, and has made an indelible impression on the world. The history of those times is marvellous, and with those who cannot appreciate it, it exceeds belief. But it is precisely the history that might have been expected, when the object that was to be accomplished is considered.

CHAPTER IV.

THE GENIUS OF THE CHURCH OF ROME.

THE Church of Rome is a body *politic*, composed solely of the priesthood, including the Primate or Pope, as Chief. The laity are no part of the Church, as it has been constituted for many centuries ; but mere *subjects* of an absolute prince, all whose dogmatic acts are held, in theory, and for all practical purposes, to be infallible. In common parlance, the laity may be called members of the Church ; but that is impossible, as the Church is composed of a priesthood, high above them, and independent of them. The relation of the laity to the priesthood or government, is solely that of subjects, bound to obedience in all things, without an alternative in any case whatsoever. Absolute authority is the governing principle in the genius of the Church of Rome. There are, indeed, privileges, or what are regarded as such, enjoyed by the laity, and one of them is an entire faith in the paternal administration of the Pope and of his subordinates. The seven sacraments to which, on certain conditions, the laity are entitled, are accounted privileges. It is accounted a privilege to have ghostly counsel at the confessional and elsewhere ; to have absolution for the past, and dispensation for the future ; to be prayed for when dead ; to be helped out of purgatory by the priests

of the Church on earth. These, and all other offices of the priesthood, are represented as privileges, and accepted as such; but the laity are mere recipients, on condition of submission and obedience. They are not, and cannot be members of the Church; for the Church, as such, is composed solely of the priesthood. To be members of a society, always supposes some rights, other than to be the recipients of its benefits. But the genius of the Church of Rome tolerates no rights, no prerogatives, except in the clergy, and its official agents. For the laity, it is all duty, submission, obedience. The compensation is in the privileges above named, and the promise of heaven.

All human politics are the creatures of time and circumstance, and that of the Church of Rome is not an exception, but the most notable example. It is the oldest in Europe certainly, if not in the world. That of China may be older, and possibly some others of the oriental nations. That of the Church of Rome is the best considered, most far seeing, most profound, most comprehensive, and most philosophical, of all others—philosophical, we mean for its purposes. From the beginning of its construction, it has had in its service the most sagacious observers of human nature, in all its moods, tastes, and tendencies; in all its conditions, and in all circumstances. From age to age, every advantage has been taken of the results of experience to perfect the system. The accidental position of the city of Rome, in relation to the rest of the world, commercially, socially, and politically, after a long struggle between its *claims* and those of Constantinople, decreed the

former, at last, as the centre of spiritual empire.* The Bishop of Rome elevated and enlarged his pretensions, with the rise and growth of Rome's political sway; but he never abridged them under Rome's political reverses. Spiritual power, in the unripe ages of civilization, often found chances of progress, and of extending its domain, in the political misfortunes of the world. The Bishop of Rome, once established the chief of all Christendom, was the pivot on which turned the fortunes of the Church of Rome. From that hour was laid the foundation of the mightiest, most subtle, and most comprehensive polity, that the world has ever seen, or ever will see, as one of man's device. No fabric of human society has ever enlisted so much talent, so much learning, so much knowledge of human nature in all its workings, so much philosophy, so much art, so much of every thing that augments and consolidates power over man, enlarges the field of its influence, and perpetuates itself. No other fabric of society has ever opened such a field for ambition. It was the hope and expectation of bringing this world under foot, by the superincumbent weight of the future and

* "I allow no authority to the bishops of Rome out of their own diocese. The additional dignity that they came to have, flowed from the constitution of the Roman empire; and since Rome is no more the seat of empire, it has lost all that primacy which was yielded to it, merely by reason of the dignity of the city. So that, as Byzance, from being a small bishopric, became a patriarchal seat, upon the exaltation of that city; by the same rule, upon the depression of Rome, the bishops of that see ought to have lost all that dignity that was merely accidental."—*Bishop Burnet, Appendix to the Records.*

unknown world, with the advantage of making the future answer all desired purposes, by new creations of dogmatical instruction in regard to it. He who first conceived the idea of Peter's Supremacy was a bold man. The keys of the Primate were easily fabricated by a forced interpretation of that passage in the Gospel, which relates to the subject. Supremacy once established, and the succession also forcibly verified, it was only necessary to put on the girdle, and display the keys hanging thereon. Thenceforth heaven was in the gift of the Pope, and of him alone, mediately and immediately; and that for princes, as well as for the vulgar. He, too, was a great man, who invented Purgatory. There is a profound philosophy in that. Behold its practical operation on the treasury of the Church, in masses for the dead, and in dispensations from the pains of hell. The doctrine of transubstantiation, what a field for the imagination, and what a claim for the respect and reverence of the multitude! The multiplication of the sacraments, and the position they occupy as elements of power, was an eminent stroke of policy. The infallibility of the Pope was also a great idea. See how it silences inquiry, settles controversy, and puts a stop to all protests and remonstrances against authority. See how it gives one mind to a universal church, scattered over the face of the earth. There is a profound philosophy in that, too. The power of indulgences is a most convenient idea. What wealth has flowed into the coffers of the Church of Rome thereby; and what treasures are always in abeyance, whenever and

wherever the claim can prudently be asserted; for it is an established principle in the polity of the papal Church.* The terrible thunders of papal bulls and anathemas, and the power of excommunication, how

* Bishop Burnet, among the *Records* appended to his *History of the Reformation*, has given copies of sixteen indulgences issued by Popes of Rome. We have transcribed the following four from his list, and made an abridgment of the others. The prayers referred to, are not given.

"Our holy father, Sixtus the Fourth, Pope, hath granted to all them that devoutly say this prayer before the image of our Lady, the sum of 11,000 years of pardon."

"Our holy father, the pope John 22d, hath granted to all them that devoutly say this prayer, after the elevation of our Lord Jesus Christ, 3000 days of pardon for deadly sins."

"Our holy father, the pope Bonifacius the 6th, hath granted to all them that say devoutly this prayer following, between the elevation of our Lord and the three Agnus Dei, 10,000 years of pardon."

"These five petitions and prayers were made by St. Gregory, and it is granted unto all them that devoutly say these five prayers, with five Pater Nosters, five Ave Marias, and a Credo, 500 years of pardon."

Another, issued by five Popes successively, grants 500 years and as many Lents of pardon; another, 300 days of pardon; another, 40 years and 80 Lentings; another promises heaven without purgatory; another, "clean remission of their sins perpetually enduring;" another, "as many days of pardon as there were wounds in the body of our Lord in the time of his bitter passion, the which were 5465;" another, promises 1,000,000 years of pardon for deadly sins; another, 32,755 years of pardon; another, 6000 years; another, 3000 years of pardon for deadly sins, and 3000 years for venial sins; another, 4000 days; and another promises to commute from eternal damnation, already incurred, into a limited purgatory, which shall also be forgiven, on another condition, with the benefit of a direct passport to heaven. —(*Burnet's Collection of Records.*)

The folios, from which these indulgences are copied, are marked as found in the English offices, and printed at Paris, 1526.

have they made kings turn pale, and frightened the world into obedience! These, too, were great inventions. The Inquisition, what an effective machinery! And was not Ignatius Loyola a great genius? The policy of losing nothing that can be kept, and of acquiring all that can be gained, in Christian and pagan lands, by establishing orders and missions of specific principles, with specific qualifications, under specific instructions, for specific ends; is there not wisdom in that? The monasteries, convents, and nunneries, have they not been great and influential institutions in their time, which even yet is not entirely gone by? This is still a cherished policy of the Church of Rome. The celibacy of the clergy, what a stupendous convenience in such a polity! That, too, was a great idea. The power and the custom of calling representatives of the Church from all parts of the world, to do homage at the feet of the Pontiff, to receive his blessing, and to return with his fresh orders, what an evidence and what means of discipline! The patronage of the arts, so early and so long continued, as to keep the lead of all the world, what an attraction for the most cultivated tastes of mankind! What devotee of the arts in the civilized world, if he is able, can be content without visiting Rome? Is not that wisdom? What unrivalled monuments of architecture has the Church of Rome erected! What gorgeous decorations of her temples! What an attractive and what an imposing service! What festivals! What an invention the carnival, as a compensation for the abstinences of Lent! The canonization of saints,

what a spur to ambition for some great service to the Church ! It is policy, not sanctity, that makes a saint in the Church of Rome, though it cannot be denied that she has cannonized some of the best of men. Auricular confession, what an engine of power, vast, comprehensive, and often terrible ! Not a secret of the human heart can hide itself from its all-searching eye ; and, alas ! for the wiles and stratagems that may be practised there ! The denial of the scriptures for common use, and of the right of individuals to study them for themselves, what an admirable dogma for harmony of opinion, and not less useful to serve the vast designs of such a polity, in bringing the world in subjection to the priesthood !

There is a philosophy in every appointment of the Church of Rome, in every institution, in every dogma, and in every part of her polity—a philosophy that has been well considered, and most skilfully adapted to human nature, and to the accomplishment of the ends in view, some of them necessarily transient, but most of them for perpetual usage and permanent effect. Human talent and skill, of the highest order, and to an incalculable amount, have been exhausted in the mighty effort ; and the polity of the Church of Rome, with all her dogmas, with all branches of her discipline, with her modes of worship, and modes of teaching, for so many centuries in birth and in growth, may be said to have arrived, long since, to a *ne plus ultra*. For who can add to it ? What regions of earth, in politics or morals, remain to be explored by a new enterprise ? What regions of

heaven, what regions of hell, accessible to imagination, have not been visited? The visions of Dante are coloured by the theology of Rome, and are conformed to that standard. Will another genius arise to eclipse his inventions?

The Church of Rome has made her last draft on earth, and heaven, and hell, for the establishment of her empire. Time was when her drafts were honoured at sight, as well on the faith of kings, as on the credulity of the vulgar. It was a great conception, though a mistake, to propose to govern this world by drawing on the next, and to make of the next whatever might be necessary to accomplish this end. He who wore on his girdle the keys of heaven and of hell, while the dogma of their purpose and effect had credit with the lofty and the low, over the Christian world, was a mighty prince. Who, from such an eminence, would not be tempted to look down upon the world as his own? Crowns were in his lap, to dispose at will; and if any crowned head should prove perverse under his discipline, there were ways of getting rid of him. To hold the next world, with its rewards and punishments, over the heads of all those who dwell in this, with power to distribute the one to the obedient, and to pour out the other on the disobedient, is a high prerogative. Who, believing it, would not fear such a potentate? To be clothed with authority, to denounce kings with the vengeance of hell and to absolve subjects from their allegiance, what more could be asked for an absolute and unlimited earthly dominion? Such were

the rights claimed, and we have never been advised that they have been surrendered.

But it is a part of the genius of the Church of Rome not to push her claims where she cannot carry them, and to bide her time for reasserting them; but she never surrenders a pretension. She will even retreat, when necessary, for the same reason that a general in the field takes up a new position in relation to a superior force. She will violate her own principle, under force, though doubtless with a reserved protest. Did not the Pope, a prisoner in the hand of Napoleon I., consent to his coronation, and attend it, to put the crown upon his head? And did he not bestow his blessing on the anointed one, notwithstanding the Emperor took the crown from the Pope's hand, and placed it on his own head, thus denying the Pope's right? The Emperor wanted nothing but the Pope's sanction and blessing for political effect. And is not the Pope again prisoner of "the nephew of the uncle" for the same object? Since the Reformation, the Pope's power has waned, and is waning; but so mighty a fabric does not fall to the ground in a day. Ever since the European mind began its march towards freedom, by resistance to the Pope, there has been a reluctant abstinence from some of his claims, by holding them in abeyance for more fit opportunities. But the genius of the Church of Rome is the same for ever. There is no evidence of the slightest abatement in her pretensions. They are only in repose. She is a *body-politic*, and will advance or retreat, be loud or mute in her claims, according to the temper of the world

at any given time, and according to the demonstrations and power of her opponents. She has no ambition for martyrdom, though she has bestowed that honour on innumerable recusants. In all free countries, like the United States, it is only a spiritual and paternal care that is claimed, with a distinct assertion, however, always put forward, of the supremacy of the Pope, which may be interpreted at will, as occasions may justify. It is not in the genius of the Church of Rome to shock the prejudices of mankind, without a corresponding benefit. In the history of human governments, and of human institutions, there has not been an example of a more accommodating policy. In the missions of the Church, paganism is often mixed up with Christianity, and sometimes, and for a long period, is the predominant element. Provided the supremacy of the Pope be established, the heaven of paganism, or any other heaven, may never be entirely expurgated. Of what consequence is that to a policy which mainly seeks the subjugation of the world to one Chief; first, in things spiritual as most influential, when rightly shaped, and charged with suitable ingredients for the accomplishment of that end; and next, in temporal and political affairs, as may be convenient? The great principle of the genius of the Church of Rome is, that spiritual dominion, or a cunning use of the world to come over the minds of men, naturally absorbs the power of this world. All her dogmas, regarding a future state, have been invented and shaped to that end. When that artifice fails, the Church will be a failure. It has been *gradually failing* for more than three centuries, though

its hold on the world is still vast, widely comprehensive, and not wanting in vigour.

There is another feature or element in the genius of the Church of Rome of a more startling character, which, for its enormity, could hardly be credited, if authentic history had not established it as a fact. It is *that the end sanctifies the means*; and that the most revolting crimes, such as murder, and assassination, and massacre—of course the lesser vices of humanity—may not only be pardoned, but justified, exalted even into merit, when committed in the service of the Church! Not to mention other instances of the kind, with which history abounds, take for example the wholesale massacre of St. Bartholomew's day in France, in 1572, and the gunpowder plot of 1605, for the destruction of the royal family and parliament of England, being Protestant. The former is too well known as a plot of Papacy to destroy the Protestants of France in one day; and the latter, though a failure, had for its object the utter destruction of a Protestant royal house, and of a Protestant parliament, for the substitution of a throne and parliament in England devoted to Papacy. Besides the conviction of the immediate complotters, all papists, subsequent investigations appear to have established clearly the complicity in this atrocity, of the Pope; of one Cardinal; of the General of the Jesuits; of a Provincial of the Jesuits, in New Castile; of all the English Provincial Jesuits; of the Benedictine Monks of the Savoy; of about eighteen hundred of the Jesuit and seminary priests in England; and of several English peers.

It is only necessary to adduce some examples of the extraordinary casuistry of the Jesuit and other fathers of the Church of Rome, of established authority among the papists, to show, that these, and other like crimes, committed in the service of the Church, on a larger or smaller scale, are pardonable, justifiable, meritorious. This species of casuistry in the Church of Rome, has long since become a distinct branch of science, and enlisted the highest order of talent. The writers are legion, and would fill an alcove of a public library. There are, however, preferred authorities, who have obtained a more open sanction of the Church, the leading one of whom, not less eminent than Blackstone on English Law, or Richard Hooker on Ecclesiastical Law, is Alphonzo de Liguori. Next to him is Bellarmine, whose work on the Pontiff was once condemned by the Pope, simply because it "derogated from the plenitude of the pontiff's rights;" but it has since been regularly sanctioned, by being dropped from the "Index" of prohibited works. It is one of the highest authorities. Without citing specifically from these leading, and other numerous authorities on this subject, which would be tedious and ill comport with our necessary brevity, we may say that there is a substantial harmony among all those which have the sanction of the Church, and that together, they have vindicated the following propositions :—

That it is right to burn heretics, and as binding as abstinence upon a Friday; that all bonds with a heretic are broken *de jure*, and they may be tolerated only by necessity; that the brother is bound to

denounce his brother if he be a heretic, the child his father, the wife a husband ; that unreasoning submission to the authorities of the Church, in morals and in faith, is a duty ; that that is morally good which the sovereign Pontiff commands, and that morally evil which he forbids ; that blind obedience is the highest practice of Christian virtue ; that faith in a priest absolves from all responsibility in following his advice, thou it be murder or any other crime ; that incontinence in the clergy is preferable to marriage, and that unless it becomes public and occasion scandal, it is not censurable* ; that one may never question the right or wrong of a priest's instructions and commands ; that every person should give the entire charge of his soul to a priest ; that a husband, a father, a king, or any other person, may be killed by their respective correlatives, under instruction, without incurring guilt ; that probability gathered from recognized authorities of the Church, may solve all questions of conscience, and the opinion of an unrepudiated theologian makes a probability ; that personal conviction of the unlawfulness of an action is no bar to its being lawfully enjoined by a priest, or virtuously perpetrated by his penitent ; that, if occasion be urgent, one may perpetrate a doubtful act first, and find his authority afterwards ; that one may choose a priest for the

* It is a somewhat remarkable fact, that a priest of the Church of Rome is never required by his Bishop to take a vow of chastity. His celibacy is alleged to be a matter of discipline, and is no farther law than custom makes it so. Why should not the corresponding part of discipline, the duty of chastity, be enforced?

purpose of authorizing a crime ; that perjury is a duty binding on all men under certain circumstances, to be judged of by the person who is perjured ; that one may swear with equivocation ; that, in certain circumstances, it is right to anticipate the attack of an enemy, by killing him unawares ; that the right to rule over conscience results from the right to rule the state ; that the abstinence of the sovereign Pontiff from the rule of state, is a necessity, not want of right ; that this right is divine, and can never expire ; that the rights of the Pontiff necessarily cover all things temporal ; that Pontifical rights are in the office, not in the *locum tenens*, except *in transitu*, and consequently can never be surrendered or qualified ; that the same principle applies to the priesthood in all its degrees and diversities ; in short, that there is no power over this world or the next, so far as man is interested in either, which does not, *jure divino*, vest in the Roman Pontiff ; and no act, commonly called crime, and stamped and punished as such by the legislation of the civilized world, which may not be committed, if authorized by a priest of the Church of Rome, for a purpose which he may think meritorious ! *It is the end that justifies the means !*

These specimens of casuistry might be greatly extended, for there is no act marked by the penal code of the civilized world, which is not vindicated in given circumstances, specifically or by implication. This task has for centuries been a distinct vocation in the higher walks of mind in the Church of Rome, where the greatest ingenuity and subtlety of reason-

ing have been exhausted, and one of the high functions of the Church has been to declare its approbation or disapprobation of these efforts, until the approved works have become numerous, and no small part of a well furnished library in that Church. Not a Jesuit, probably, can be found in the world, who has not a manual of these doctrines in his pocket for his guidance. One could hardly see the use of a Bible in such a case to declare what is right and what is wrong. It might embarrass conscience. But a compendious view of these doctrines which make wrong right, and determine what crimes may be committed, what immoralities may be practised, and what vices may be indulged in, in given circumstances and for given objects, would seem to be very necessary for those whose function it is to authorize them.*

* It is not usual, we believe, to find a priest of Rome with a Bible in his pocket or trunk. We had occasion once, being a fellow-passenger with a Bishop of the Church of Rome, on the sea, to appeal to his own copy of the Scriptures, to prove from the original publication of the Decalogue, that his Church had dropped the second commandment, and divided the tenth ; of which—strange to say—he appeared to be ignorant ! For, at our request, he had just recited the Decalogue, as they read it, with the above named omission and change, putting the third in the place of the second commandment ; and he did it with perfect composure, as if it were all right. We appealed to his own Bible. He had none with him ! Being a modest man, he blushed, and was much embarrassed. The subject was necessarily dropped. We have encountered another instance of the same kind, in the case of a highly accomplished gentleman, who had been educated for the Church, but afterwards went into the service of the State, as an ambassador at Washington. We know not whether he was a

The Jesuitical casuists, says Mosheim, teach, "that a bad man who is an entire stranger to the love of God, provided he feels some fear of the Divine wrath, and from dread of punishment avoids grosser crimes is a fit candidate for eternal salvation; that men may sin with safety, provided they have a probable reason for the sin; that is, some argument or authority in favour of it; that actions in themselves wrong, and contrary to the Divine law, are allowable, provided a person can control his own mind, and in his thoughts connect a good *end* with the criminal deed; or, as they express it, know how to *direct his intention right*; that *philosophical sins*, that is, actions which are contrary to the law of nature and to right reason, in a person ignorant of the written law of God, or dubious as to its true meaning, are light offences, and do not deserve the punishment of hell; that the deeds a man commits, when wholly blinded by his lusts and the paroxysms of passion, and when destitute of all sense of religion, though they be of the vilest and most execrable character, can by no means be charged to his account in the judgment of God, because such a man is like a madman; that it is right for a man, when taking an oath, or forming a contract, in order to deceive the judge, or subvert

Jesuit. At our request he recited the Decalogue; and it was given as above by the Bishop. He never knew the Decalogue, as originally published, till we showed it to him; and he knew not what to say. Being, as we suspected, an infidel, he didn't seem to care; but he was perfectly honest in his giving out of the Decalogue, and regarded it as the true copy. These facts, perhaps, may show the extreme care of the Church of Rome, to keep her educated men within certain limits, as to the information they are permitted to acquire.

the validity of an oath, tacitly to add something to the words of the compact or the oath." (Mosheim, Book IV. Cent. XVII. Sect. II. Part. I. Chap. I. § 34.) Mosheim acknowledges, that some of the Popes, in deference to opinion, have been forced to rebuke these doctrines; but adds: "The reason assigned, why so many kings and princes, and persons of every rank and sex, committed the care of their souls to the Jesuits especially, is, that such confessors, by their precepts, extenuated the guilt of sin, flattered the criminal passions of men, and opened an easy and convenient way to heaven."

Surely it is not a question whether these things be so, when the whole subject is reduced to a science, and when the shelves of the libraries of Rome groan with the most elaborate expository authorities on these topics. There they stand, patent to all the world, and not a blush is seen on the cheeks of the authors of these works, or of the students, or of the advocates of these doctrines. To write these volumes was a high and honourable vocation, and to be versed in them is a necessary qualification to serve the Church. The facts of history illustrating these doctrines, are not wanting; but the long line of many centuries is crowded with them. How many kings and princes have fallen victims; how many states have been revolutionized; how many families have been divided and ruined; and how many last wills and testaments of the rich have been destroyed or controlled by this species of influence! Testamentary acts are one of its great harvest fields, in all ages, and in all countries, as it is one where the laws of

society on this subject can most easily be evaded. The power of the Church of Rome over the dying is absolute, and is never allowed to sleep on such occasions.*

* The following are passages selected from the Canon law of the Church of Rome, by Archbishop Cranmer, under Henry the Eighth, to show the necessity of a Reformation :—

“ He that acknowledgeth not himself to be under the Bishop of Rome, and that the Bishop of Rome is ordained by God to have primacy over all the world, is an heretic, and cannot be saved, nor is of the flock of Christ.

“ Princes’ laws, if they be against the canons and decrees of the Bishop of Rome, be of no force nor strength.

“ All the decrees of the Bishop of Rome, ought to be kept perpetually by every man, without any repugnance, as God’s word spoken by the mouth of Peter; and whosoever doth not receive them, neither availeth them the catholic faith, nor the four evangelists; but they blaspheme the Holy Ghost, and shall have no forgiveness.

“ All kings, bishops, and noblemen, that believe or suffer the Bishop of Rome’s decrees in any thing to be violate, be accursed, and forever culpable before God, as transgressors of the catholic faith.

“ The See of Rome hath neither spot, nor wrinkle in it, and cannot err.

“ The Bishop of Rome is not bound to any decrees, but he may compel, as well the clergy as laymen, to receive his decrees and canon law.

“ The Bishop of Rome hath authority to judge all men, and specially to discern (decree or judge) the articles of the faith, and that without any council and may assoil them that the council hath damned; but no man hath authority to judge him, or to meddle with any thing that he hath judged, neither emperor, king, people, nor the clergy; and it is not lawful for any man to dispute of his power.

“ The Bishop of Rome may excommunicate emperors and princes, depose them from their seats, and assoil their subjects from their oath and obedience to to them, and so constrain them to rebellion.

The shock given to the power of the Church of Rome by the Reformation, the public exposures of

"The emperor is the Bishop of Rome's subject, and the Bishop of Rome may revoke the emperor's sentence in temporal causes.

"It belongeth to the Bishop of Rome to allow or disallow the emperor, after he is elected, and he may translate the empire from one region to another.

"The Bishop of Rome may appoint coadjutors unto princes.

"There can be no council of bishops, without the authority of the See of Rome.

"Nothing may be done against him that appealeth unto Rome.

"The Bishop of Rome may be judged of none, but of God only; for, although he neither regard his own salvation, nor any man's else, but draw down with himself innumerable people into hell; yet may no mortal man in this world presume to reprehend him; forasmuch as he is called God, he may not be judged of man, for God may be judged of no man.

"The Bishop of Rome may open and shut heaven unto man.

"He that maketh a lie to the Bishop of Rome, commiteth sacrilege.

"It appertaineth to the Bishop of Rome, to judge which oaths shall be kept, and which not; and he may absolve subjects from their oath of fidelity, and absolve from other oaths that ought to be kept.

"The Bishop of Rome is judge in temporal things, and hath two swords, spiritual and temporal.

"The Bishop of Rome may give authority to arrest men, and imprison them in manacles and fetters.

"The Bishop of Rome may compel princes to receive his legates. It belongeth also to him to appoint and command peace and truce to be observed and kept, or not.

"Laymen may not be judges to any of the clergy, nor compel them to pay their debts; but the bishops only must be their judges. Rectors of Churches may convent such as do them wrong, whither they will, before a spiritual judge or temporal; but one of the clergy may not commit his cause to a temporal judge, without the consent of the bishop.

her enormities, then and since made, and the great progress of freedom in the world, have greatly modi-

“All that make or write any statutes contrary to the rights of the Church; and all princes, rulers, and counsellors, where such statutes be made, or such customs observed; and all the judges and others that put the same in execution, and who put them not out of their books, be excommunicate; and that so grievously, that they cannot be assailed, except by the Bishop of Rome.

“Laymen may not meddle with elections of the clergy, nor with any other thing that belongeth unto them.

“The clergy ought to give no oath of fidelity to their temporal governors, except they hold temporalities of them.

“Princes ought to obey bishops, and the decrees of the Church, and to submit their heads unto the bishops, and not to judge over the bishops; for the bishops ought to be forborne, and to be judged of no layman.

“All manner of causes, whatsoever they be, spiritual or temporal, ought to be determined and judged by the clergy.

“Whoever teacheth or thinketh of the sacraments otherwise than the See of Rome doth teach and observe, and all they that the same See doth judge heretics, be excommunicate. And the Bishop of Rome may compel by an oath all rulers and other people to observe, and cause to be observed, whatsoever the See of Rome shall ordain concerning heresy, and the fautors thereof; and whosoever will not obey, he may deprive them of their dignities.

“We ordain remission of sin, by observing of certain fasts, and certain pilgrimages in the Jubilee, and other prescribed times, by virtue of the Bishop of Rome's pardons.

“Whoever offendeth the rites of the Church, or doth violate any interdiction that cometh from Rome, or conspireth against the person or statute of the Bishop or See of Rome; or by any ways offendeth, disobeyeth, or rebelleth against the said Bishop or See, or that killeth a priest, or offendeth personally against a bishop or other prelate; or invadeth, spoileth, withholdeth, or wasteth lands belonging to the Church of Rome, or any other church immediately subject to the same; or whosoever invadeth

fied her policy. Instead of controlling the powers of Europe by the open demonstrations of her influ-

any pilgrims that go to Rome, or that let the devolution of causes unto that court, or that put any new charges or impositions, real or personal, upon any Church or ecclesiastical person ; and generally, all other that offend in the cases contained in the bull, which is usually published by the Bishops of Rome upon Maundy Thursday;—all these can be assailed by no priest, bishop, archbishop, nor by any other but by the Bishop of Rome, or by his express license.

“He is no manslayer that slayeth a man that is excommunicate.”
(*Burnet's History of the Reformation Records*, Part I. Book III.)

We understand, as indicated by the style, that the above cited passages, are condensed statements in the archbishop's own language. They are undoubtedly truthful, as at the head of each, he refers to the authoritative documents. As will be seen, they agree well with the summary propositions, which we have condensed on pages 36, 37, and 38, only that they are somewhat more remarkable in several particulars. And it is to be observed, that they were not only parts of the canon law of the Church of Rome, at that time, some three centuries ago; but that they are now and ever so.

It may be pertinent here to present a copy of the oath of a Bishop or Abbot of the Church of Rome, by which he swears allegiance to the Pope. The one here given was used in Henry the Eighth's time.

The Oath of a Bishop or Abbot to the Pope.

“I, John, Bishop or Abbot of A. from this hour forward, shall be faithful and obedient to St. Peter, and to the Holy Church of Rome, and to my lord, the Pope, and to his successors canonically entering. I shall not be of counsel, nor consent that they shall lose either life or member, or shall be taken or suffer any violence or any wrong by any means. Their counsel to me indited by them, their messengers or letters, I shall not willingly discover to any person. The papacy of Rome, the rules of the holy fathers, and the regality of St. Peter, I shall keep, and maintain, and defend against

ence, she has been forced to resort to secret machinations, and to bide her time for more energetic efforts.

all men. The legate of the See Apostolic, going and coming, I shall honourably entreat. The rights, honours, privileges, and authorities of the Church of Rome, and the Pope and his successors, I shall cause to be conserved, defended, augmented, and promoted. I shall not be in any counsel, treaty, or any act in the which any thing shall be imagined against him or the Church of Rome, their rights, seats, honours, or powers. And if I know any such to be moved or compassed, I shall resist it to my power, and as soon as I can, I shall advertise him, or such as may give him knowledge. The rules of the holy fathers, the decrees, ordinances, sentences, dispositions, reservations, provisions, and commandments apostolic, to my power I shall keep and cause to be kept by others. Heretics, schismatics, and rebels to our holy father and his successors, I shall resist and persecute to my power. I shall come to the Synod when I am called, except I be letted by a canonical impediment. The thresholds of the Apostles, I shall visit yearly, personally, or by my deputy. I shall not alienate or sell my possessions without the Pope's counsel. So God help me and the Holy Evangelists."

Dr. Barrow, in his "Treatise on the Pope's Supremacy," gives the form of a bishop's oath of allegiance, as ordered by Clement VIII., much more in detail, and more comprehensive than the above.

The following are excerpts from the Introduction of Dr. Barrow's Treatise:—

"If he," the Pope, "charge us (papists) to hold no communion with our prince, to renounce our allegiance to him, to abandon and persecute him, even unto death, we must in duty obey. . . . They," the Popes, "could do all things, whatever they pleased; yea, and things unlawful; and so could do more than God. . . . To them is given all power in heaven and earth. . . . There can be no doubt but that the civil principality is subject to the sacerdotal." The bull of Pope Sixtus V. (1585), against Henry, King of Navarre, and the prince of Conde, saith: "The authority given to St. Peter and his successors, by the Eternal King, *excels all the powers of earthly kings and princes.* It passes un-

But she still knows how to control even the rampant democracy of the European States, by forming alliances with it, and by pushing it forward to inevitable overthrow. For a month and a day, Pius IX. was a democrat; but turned short about, and left them to their own destruction. There was a public meeting in the city of New York to glorify the Pope's conversion to democracy; but it had hardly adjourned, when the Pope, in an Allocution to his Cardinals, said, that "he had taken this principle for basis, that the Catholic religion, with all its rights, ought to be exclusively dominant, in such

controllable sentence on them all. We deprive them" (the said Henry and Prince of Conde) "and their posterity forever of their dominions and kingdoms. By these presents we absolve and set free all persons" (their subjects) "from their allegiance, and forbid all to obey them, or any of their laws or commands." Pope Innocent the Third said:—The Pontifical authority exceeds the temporal, as the Sun doth the Moon." In a bull of Gregory VII. it is written:—"For the dignity and defence of God's Holy Church, in the name of Almighty God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, I depose from imperial and royal administration, King Henry, son of Henry, sometime emperor," &c.

"This doctrine of the Pope's universal power over all persons, in all matters, may naturally be supposed the sentiment of all popes for more than 500 years unto the present day."

For the first six centuries, or more, the Bishop of Rome, and all other bishops, acknowledged the supremacy of the Emperors, and the grand councils of the Church were convoked and supervised by them. See *Dr. Barrow's Treatise, Supposition VI.* "The Bishops of Rome," says Mosheim, in his *History of the Sixth Century*, "paid homage to the Roman Emperors in a submissive manner; for they had not yet become so lost to shame as to look upon temporal sovereigns as their vassals." Again, says Mosheim, "After the ninth century, the Bishops of Rome assumed the exclusive right to be vicars of Christ."

sort, that every other worship shall be banished and interdicted." He also said, in the same Allocution, that, by ecclesiastical liberty is meant "the free exercise of their proper Episcopal jurisdiction by the Bishops ;" and as the Church of Rome always falls back on her established authorities, if pertinent to her purpose, though forgotten by the world, it will be found, by a decision of the Council of Trent, that this "*proper* Episcopal jurisdiction" reaches to all civil officers, and includes "the right, if it be judged expedient, to proceed against all persons whatsoever, by means of pecuniary fines, by distress upon the goods or arrest of the person, and if there be contumacy, by smiting with the sword of ANATHEMA." So much for the democracy of Pius IX. If required, he will crown Napoleon III., as Pius VII. did Napoleon I., and, if expedient, protest afterwards, that it was done under force.

The Church of Rome must march straight forward. The momentum of her destiny is irresistible. There is no cure for her faults ; they are so many, so deeply rooted, so all-pervading. They are not the accidents of her being, but the very soul, the genius of the institution. The good men within her pale—for doubtless there are good men, even there—know there is no cure. The Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda once said, on a complaint of some of these enormities being made to him : "I know it, I know it all, and more, and worse than all. *But nothing can be done.*" It is the *system* that produces such results. "Can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit ?"

Surely, if any thing, in all history, has been worthy of prophecy, it is this stupendous phenomenon. It should be observed, that inspired prophecy, in opening the chapters of future history, selects only those great subjects, which are to have influence on the destinies of mankind. Not in all the world has such a gigantic social fabric ever appeared, with such pretensions, of such vast influence, and of such tenacious endurance, as the Church of Rome. It has this pre-eminence, that it overshadows two worlds, the present and the future; and this advantage, that it employs the future and unknown world, giving it shape, substance, and potency, suiting its purposes to subjugate the present. How can we believe that prophecy ever had a vision of the future, if it did not see this, the greatest and most amazing of all? And where do we find it?—"Now the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter days, some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils, speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their conscience seared with a hot iron, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats." (1 Tim. iv. 1—3.) Besides the other marks, so clearly distinguishable here, as applicable to the Church of Rome, the celibacy of her clergy identifies the picture with the subject by a most indubitable sign—a sign that can find no other type in all history of sufficient importance to be the subject of prophetic notice. Again: "Let no man deceive you; for that day shall not come, except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed,

the son of perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshiped, so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God." (2 Thess. ii. 3, 4.) Is not the Pope of Rome exalted above all the gods of the heathen? Does he not sit in the Church of Saint Peter as God, and does he not claim and receive religious homage there? Does he not claim to forgive sins, the prerogative of God alone? Does he not claim to open and shut the door of heaven to whom he will, and to send to hell those who will not obey him? And can this prophecy be applied to any other character in all history? Then, clearly, the Church of Rome and the Pope of Rome are here designated. And again: "And I saw a woman sit upon a scarlet-coloured beast, full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns. And the woman was arrayed in purple and scarlet colour, and decked with gold, and precious stones, and pearls, having a golden cup in her hand full of abominations and filthiness of her fornication. And upon her forehead was a name written, Mystery, Babylon the Great, the mother of harlots, and abominations of the earth. And I saw the woman drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus." (Rev. xvii. 3—6.) This, indeed, is a strong picture; but who, believing in inspired prophecy, as a mode of instructing mankind, will deny, that it finds a veritable type in the Church of Rome? And where else, in the range of history, can the type be found? The history of the Church of Rome, as we have found it in this brief

chapter, is a sufficient verification of these prophetic records, and others of the kind.*

To suppose, that the polity of the Church of Rome should be from God, and have his sanction, is not less preposterous, than to suppose, that the most subtle and most comprehensive device of the grand adversary of God and man, that was ever developed on earth, should have the same source and the same sanction. That the Church of Rome is a body *politic*, and that she aims at political sway over all nations—a sway entire, absolute, unlimited, and embittered, exasperated by the Inquisition, and by the fires of hell flashing in the face of all opponents—no one, who will take the trouble to become acquainted with the principles of her polity, and with her history, can fail to see; and how she governs politically, let the history of all the states she has ever had under her dominion, and the present condition of the estates of the Church of Italy, show. It may be of some consequence to the lovers of freedom in Italy and elsewhere; but they are sinners and damned in the eye of the priesthood that governs them; and in the judgment of the priests, it is doubtless most befitting, that these recreants should have a little taste of damnation here on earth. Can they who deal in such penalties as a vocation, sympathize with these refractory spirits, who are only arrested without knowing for what; who are only tried and condemned without a jury, without an advocate, and

* See Wordsworth's "Hulsean Lectures on the Apocalypse," Lecture XII., for full and complete evidence of the identity of the Apocalyptic Babylon and the Church of Rome.

without law, except what springs up in the breast of the court at the time; who are only immured in a dungeon, never, perhaps, to see the light of the sun again, or be heard of; who are only put to the torture to get some truth out of them, and who must say something, true or false, for present relief; and who only go to their merited doom in hell by means so far short of their deservings? Are such sinners to have sympathy for what they call a deprivation of freedom, but which is administered for political effect on others, and for a salutary discipline over their own souls, if they shall repent in season to be rescued, and if they have left no estates worth having? A little punishment here, will, peradventure, fit them for their eternal Punishment hereafter.

It is the GENIUS of the Church of Rome that produces these results, and such forever will be its fruits. It can have no other, as the legitimate result of her polity, but only in spite of that polity. And by this last remark we intend to allow, that there is good in the Church of Rome; that men may get to heaven from that Church; that great and good men have lived and died in her communion; that thousands, and hundreds of thousands of penitent and believing souls have found the bread of life there; and that there is always enough of Evangelical truth in that Church to save those who trust in it. The Pope and his hierarchy could never have succeeded in practising such wrong on the world, if they had not had enough of the Bible, and enough of the truth of the Gospel, to satisfy really penitent souls, and deceive *sincere* inquirers after the way of salvation. It mat-

ters not with them whether men go to heaven or to hell, if they are obedient to the hierarchy ; and the Church must have aliment to satisfy the taste of all. While the priests are hypocritical, some of the people may be true and penitent, and no doubt as sincere worshipers may be found in the Church of Rome as anywhere else. It cannot be denied that truly godly men have been found, and are still found, in the ranks of her priesthood. But these are the exceptions, and not the rule ; and true Christians in that Church are saved by God's mercy, and not as the effect, and by the fidelity of her administrations. The polity of the Church is forever the same device of man, erected and administered for the attainment of power over men, by whatever means will most effectually secure that end, whether it be real piety, or unmitigated vice. The reason why the Church of Rome has so much good in her, is because she was once a pure Church, and because she has never had any reason for putting away the good, so long as it answered her purpose of deceiving mankind. But since she became a corrupt body, the accumulations of evil have been immense, and all that we have ascribed to her of evil in this chapter is strictly true, only that the half has not been told, could not be.

In order to have a right view of the Church of Rome in the matters we have had under consideration in this chapter, it is important to distinguish between the priesthood and polity of that Church on the one hand, and her communicants on the other. The priesthood, comprising all its branches, from the Pope downward, is the Church. The communicants count no-

thing except as subjects of a prince, the Pope. They are no part of the Church, in its present and long established organization and active functions, and they have not the slightest power or influence in Church affairs, except only as their loyalty and obedience contribute to maintain the power of the priesthood. In the progress of centuries, and by constant usurpations from all quarters and in all things, absorbing and centralizing every controlling element of society, the priesthood has erected itself into a state machinery *sui generis*. There is nothing like it on earth. But it is a state edifice, so far as its political structure is definable.

The danger to real piety in the Church of Rome, is, that it will be buried up in the rubbish of idolatry and superstition. Where there is so much to worship between the worshiper and God, it is hard to think of God ; and where a man is the priest and intercessor, claiming to offer the sacrifice and to dispense pardon, the penitent will naturally trust in the priest before his eyes, instead of trusting in the atonement and offices of Christ. This, indeed, is the purpose of the priesthood of Rome. Their policy is only consummated in this result. The religion of Rome is a religion for the senses, and it looks not beyond the region which they occupy.

For like reasons of policy, the hierarchy of Rome is willing to have saints of eminent piety grow up in their Church, that they can point to them as examples of the excellence of their doctrine and discipline ; and some of the best Christians in the world have been found, and are yet to be found, in that communion.

Some of the brightest lights of Christendom have appeared in the priesthood of the Church of Rome, as Massillon, Fenelon, and others; and they are honoured in that Church, as elsewhere. A care is always taken to form the conscience of her communicants, so that they shall have faith in that Church, and in no other.

But the principles and polity of the hierarchy, as such, are entirely another affair; and the picture we have given of them is far short of the reality. They exist, as we have shown, for the object of power over this world, by shaping the world to come to suit that end. They constitute a high school of human device for the subjugation of individuals, states, and nations to their will; and there is no artifice within the range of man's invention, and no crime specified on the penal codes of society, at which they will pause for the attainment of their purposes. It is in this brotherhood of iniquity where all the danger lies—a brotherhood which has no rival on earth in the arts and practices to which they are addicted.*

* Let those who imagine that the Church of Rome has changed, or can change, for the better, read the following remarks of Bishop Burnet, in his Introduction to Part III., of his History of the Reformation of the Church of England:—"When men's eyes have been once opened, when they have shaken off the yoke, and got out of the noose; when the simplicity of the religion has been seen into, and the sweets of liberty have been tasted; it looks like charm and witchcraft to see so many looking back so tamely on that servitude, under which this nation groaned so heavily for so many ages. It is not enough for such as understand this matter, to be contented with their own thoughts, and that they resolve not to turn papists themselves. They ought to awaken all about them to apprehend their danger. . . . Some say, popery is not what it

The history of the defection of the Church of Rome from primitive usages, and of her gradual approximation to her present arrogant and preposterous claims, would be both interesting and instructive, in this place. But we have space only for a few historical references on this subject. Toward the close of the sixth century, Gregory the Great, Bishop of Rome, and one of the line of Popes, as claimed, made precisely the same remonstrance against the claims of the Bishop of Constantinople as "universal patriarch," which the Protestants now make against the claims of the Pope in this parti-

was before the Reformation, and that things are much mended. They tell us, that further corrections might be expected if we would enter into a treaty with them.

"In answer to this, and to lay open the falsehood of it, we are to look back to the first beginning of Luther's breach. It was occasioned by the scandalous sale of pardons and indulgences, which all the writers on the popish side give up, and acknowledge it was a great abuse. So in the countries where the Reformation has got an entrance, or in the neighbourhood of them, this is no more heard of; and it has been taken for granted that such an infamous traffic was no more practised. But in Spain, by an agreement with the Pope, the king has a profit in the sale of indulgences, and it is no small branch of his revenue. In Portugal, the king and the Pope also go shares. They may safely do what they please, where the terror of the Inquisition is so great. In 1709, the privateers of Bristol took the galleon, in which they found 500 bales of these bulls (indulgences), sixteen reams to a bale, amounting to 3,840,000. These bulls are imposed on the people, and sold, the lowest at three reals, or twenty pence; but to some, at eleven pounds of our money. All are obliged to buy them against Lent.

"As for any changes that may be made in popery, it is certain infallibility is their basis. So nothing can be altered where a decision is once made."

cular; and precisely the same reasons are given in both cases. Gregory wrote to his nuncio at Constantinople, to address himself both to the Emperor and to the Patriarch, to dissuade the latter from any farther use of "the proud, the profane, the anti-Christian title of universal bishop, which he had assumed, in the pride of his heart, to the great debasement of the whole Episcopal order. . . . It is very hard," says Gregory, "that, after we have parted with our silver, our gold, our slaves, and even our garments, for the public welfare, we should be obliged to part with our faith too. For, to agree to that impious title, is parting with our faith." The title of universal bishop, then, according to Gregory, was heretical. In a letter to the Patriarch himself, Gregory says: "Whom do you imitate, in assuming that arrogant title? Whom but he," (Lucifer,) "who, swelled with pride, exalted himself above so many legions of angels, his equals, that he might be subject to none, and that all might be subject to him? . . . All the Apostles," says Gregory, "were members of the Church under one head, and none would ever be called universal." Again, addressing the Patriarch, he says: "If none of the Apostles would be called universal, what will you answer on the last day to Christ, the head of the Church universal;—you, who, by arrogating that name strive to subject all his members to yourself?" Gregory begged the Emperor "to control by his authority, the unbounded ambition of a man, who, not satisfied with being Bishop, affected to be called sole Bishop of the Catholic Church." The following are remarkable words of Gregory on this subject:—

"If there was a universal Bishop, and he should err, the universal Church would err with him."

The 8th canon of the Œcumenical Council of Ephesus, held in 431, is devoted exclusively and very especially to determine the right of Metropolitans, as to relative jurisdiction, and is utterly at variance with the idea of a Primacy in Christendom. It is perfectly evident, from the terms and minute specifications of this canon, the object of which was to establish the equal rights of Metropolitans, that the thought of a Primate over all had never entered the mind of the Church at that time. The spirit and purpose of this canon is radically opposed to it. "The authority," says Hammond, "which the Bishops of Rome, in after ages, claimed and usurped over the British and other Western Churches, is clearly contrary to this canon, as well as to those of the Council of Nice." Twenty years afterwards, however, in 451, at the Council of Chalcedon, (also Œcumenical,) the rivalry between Rome and Constantinople is apparent, and the 28th canon of this Council was passed to declare their equality, much to the mortification of the Bishop of Rome.

"The progress the Papacy had made from Pope Gregory the Seventh, to Pope Boniface the Eighth's time, in little more than two hundred and thirty years, is an amazing thing. The one began with the pretension to depose kings. The other, in the jubilee that he first opened, went in procession through Rome, the first day attired as Pope, and the next day attired as Emperor, declaring, that all power, both spiritual *and temporal*, was in him, and derived from him ; and

he cried out with a loud voice, I am Pope and Emperor, and hold both the earthly and heavenly empire. And he made a solemn decree in these words: We say, define, and pronounce, that it is absolutely necessary to salvation to every human creature to be subject to the Bishop of Rome."—*Burnet's Reformation, Part III. Book I.*

The usurpations of the Bishop of Rome assumed a bolder form, after the disuse of the provincial councils in the Latin Church. Among the records of the Assembly of Archbishops and Bishops of Tuscany, under the auspices of Leopold, Grand Duke, who succeeded to the Austrian empire, is an interesting paper by a monk, Francis Barkovitch, in which he says: "The principle doctrines inculcated in this fraudulent collection" (the false decretals) "are, that the Pope is Bishop of all Christendom; that all causes of importance ought to be brought by appeal before him; that causes relating to the bishops belong exclusively to the Pope; that he ought to convoke and preside in all general councils; that no council, general or particular, is binding, unless approved by him;" &c. In a paper given in the Life of Cardinal De Ricci, entitled, the defence of Counsellor Raffaele, it is said: "Finally, Gregory the Twelfth mounted the papal throne, and reduced into a regular system the whole of that hitherto unshaped mass of privileges and exemptions, which had been slowly constructed partly on the ignorance and superstition of the people, and partly on the weakness and cowardice of governments.

"The two councils of Lateran sanctioned this gi-

gantic system, by the adherence of deputies from the whole Church, who, they said, had been assembled in the name and by the authority of the Holy Spirit. From that period, whoever ventured to attack either the persons or the property of the clergy, was threatened with the spiritual thunders of the Church, and its awful consequences both in this world and the next. The energies and intelligence of mankind were thus completely paralyzed ; and society, in the very period of its infancy, fell into the weakness and decrepitude of age." Or, as the Bishop of St. Asaph says, in his History of the Church of England : " The vices of monarchs and of nations first made the Pope king of kings ; and the vices of Rome and her servants destroyed a power which no other human force could have subdued."

Although we have in this chapter, and elsewhere in this work, for convenience' sake, in conformity to usage, employed the phrase, *the Church of Rome*, in application to the papal hierarchy, nevertheless, under the sentence which has been passed upon her by the Holy Spirit, she occupies the position of an adjudged criminal, awaiting the execution of law, which, in this case, is the law of Providence bringing her to judgment before the tribunal of opinion. The scrutiny for her retribution opened on the world in the Protestant Reformation, is now in progress, and will terminate only in the fulfilment of all the prophecies regarding her. She has, as we have seen, the stamp of the divine hand written on her forehead : " THE MYSTERY OF INIQUITY ;" " THE MOTHER OF HARLOTS." She is not a schism by any earthly law, or

by any recognized principle of Church polity. What, then, is her position? It is that of an APOSTATE under sentence, pronounced by the same authority that will judge all men at the last great day. It would be equally presumptuous for any earthly tribunal to review that sentence, as for created beings to take in hand the decisions of the final judgment. All judicial process over the papal hierarchy here on earth, is precluded by acts of God himself, in the dictates of the Holy Ghost to the inspired writers on this subject, such as we have cited in this chapter. The sentence is recorded and published, and no earthly power can alter it. It is a sentence of utter and irrevocable reprobation, for time and for eternity. There is no space given for repentance, for judgment is concluded; and no hope of reform, for there is no redeeming quality. It is not a *schism*, but an *apostacy*, a *prostitution*, stained by a long career of blasphemy against God, and of crime against man. For six hundred years or more, now past, history is crowded, and groans with the burden of these enormities. The Divine admonition to all the world is, "Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues. For her sins have reached unto heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities."

CHAPTER V.

THE GENIUS OF THE REFORMATION.

ALL great events in history are relative to their causes, and demonstrate the causes. That the Protestant Reformation was a great event, will not be denied; and its cause is found in the genius of the Church of Rome, from the consideration of which we have just passed. When great wrongs oppress mankind, Providence usually raises up some great spirits to avenge them; and the wrongs themselves are naturally productive of their remedies.

The Protestant Reformation had two principal lines or columns of movements: the one Germanic or continental, the other Anglican. There was a lively and strong sympathy between them, but no organic connexion. During the reign of Edward VI., a correspondence was opened between the English Protestants on one side, headed by Archbishop Cranmer, and the leaders of the Continental Reformers on the other, for some union of effort against the common enemy. But the early demise of the king, the succession of Queen Mary, and the overthrow of Cranmer, involving a temporary check to Protestantism in England, put a stop to a plan, which, if it had been consummated, might have proved a very auspicious event to the Protestant world; the more so, as it might, perhaps, have imparted an organic form to

the continental Reformation, which would have made its benefits to mankind more extensive and more enduring. The want of a proper organism in the continental movement of the Protestants, especially in the present light of history, must be apparent to all. Though some important bodies of Protestants grew out of that movement, and though it has proved a vast benefit to civil and religious liberty, it has nevertheless failed, in a great measure, of that concentrated, efficient, and powerful influence, against the designs of the Church of Rome, which would have been the natural consequence of an Episcopal organization, and a liturgy, embodying the Catholic creeds and articles of faith, to unite in one communion, though in separate branches, the whole Protestant world. Behold the results in Germany, for want of a system adequate to the maintenance of the Catholic faith!

The English Reformation.

As the earliest movement in the Protestant Reformation, of a conspicuous and decided character, is found in the history of the Church of England, and as it went on by itself, without any organic connexion with foreign agencies of the same kind, till it was consummated, it will be proper to begin with this, and to follow it up, with such brief notices of its progress and final issue, as our small space will allow.*

* Bishop Burnet, in his appendix to the Records, says:—"My design was to show what seeds and dispositions were still in the minds of many of this nation, that prepared them for a reforma-

The causes of the Reformation were legion, and were found in the temporal as well as in the spiritual interests of mankind. So great were the drafts made by the Pope on the wealth of England, that in 1376 he received, under his various modes of taxation, five times as much money as the king. "The pride and luxury of the ecclesiastics," says Bishop Short, "were excessive. They vied with temporal lords in all the vanities of life, and men, who had forsworn the world, were on their journeys often seen accompanied by four score richly mounted attendants. Celibacy led the clergy into divers snares and temptations." The monasteries were pregnant sources of corruption, and numbered, in the time of Henry VIII., 1178. "In 1490, Pope Innocent VIII., sent an epistle to Archbishop Morton, directing him to reform the religious orders; and the pastoral letter addressed by the Metropolitan to the Abbot of St. Albans, furnishes a sad picture of the depravity which reigned within their walls. They are accused (in that document) of many crimes, and charged with turning out the modest women from the nunneries under their jurisdiction, and of substituting in their room females of the worst characters. In one case,

tion, in the beginning of king Henry's reign, before ever Luther preached in Germany, and several years before that the king's divorce came to be treated of in England. I, therefore, judged it was necessary for me to let the reader know what I found in our registers of those matters: how that many were tried, and some condemned, upon those opinions that were afterwards reckoned among the chief grounds of our separating from the Church of Rome. It seemed a necessary introduction to my work, to offer this, as I found it upon record."

a married woman, whose husband was still alive, had been made prioress of Pray, for the purpose of keeping up an adulterous connexion with one of the monks of St. Albans." The above, of course, is the evidence of the Church of Rome on this point. "The vicious lives and conversations of 'the religious,' as the monks were denominated, were too notorious not to call forth indignant animadversion. We have so many authentic documents of their gross profligacy and superstitious knavery, that little doubt can be entertained, either of their guilt, or of the benefits which morals received by the suppression of monasteries. . . . The height to which Church power had now risen, rendered the members of that body totally unfit for spiritual duties, and made a reformation absolutely necessary. The time was come when either their wealth and power must be taken from the clergy, or Christianity would be destroyed by those who were appointed its guardians." The above citations are from Bishop Short's history of the church of England, here and there. (§ 103, § 105, § 130, § 135, § 211.)

Besides the injury to public morals, produced by the numerous monasteries of England, before the Reformation, one of the main purposes of the institution was to say masses for the dead, and thus obtain money from the people. Masses, as is known, are one of the chief sources of wealth to the Church of Rome.* Besides the flagrant crimes against so-

* Bishop Burnet, in his history of the Reformation, (part I., book III.,) has also given an interesting and instructive account of the rise, character and wealth of the monasteries of England:

ciety, the useful offices of the clergy were neglected, and most of the higher stations in the state were filled by Churchmen. In the first parliament of Edward IV., the temporal lords amounted to thirty-five, and the spiritual to forty-eight. The neglect and ignorance of the clergy, as to their appropriate duties, gave rise to the mendicant orders, who most infested England in the thirteenth century. The lapses in morals were followed by lapses in doctrine,

"They found means to enrich themselves, first, by the belief of purgatory. This did so spread, that, if some laws had not restrained them, the greater part of all the estates in England would have been given to those houses. They (the monks) fell upon contrivances to get the best of all men's jewels, plate, and furniture," ostensibly for the decoration of images, relics, and altars. "Though there was enough got to enrich them all, yet there was great rivalry among the several orders, and houses of the same order. Abounding in wealth, they became degenerate, impudent, dissolute, and lewd." Pretended miracles, of course, constituted one of the chief impostures. At the monastery, in Reading, was found "the angel with one wing, that brought over the spear's head that pierced our Saviour's side, and as many more relics as would fill four sheets of paper to mention. At St. Edmondsbury they found some of the coals that roasted St. Laurence, the pairings of St. Edmond's toes, St. Thomas a Becket's penknife and boots, with as many pieces of the cross as would make a whole one. A piece of St. Andrew's finger had been pledged for £40." A saint was held at a higher price than the Saviour, and the Virgin higher, though not so high as a saint. For example:—"In one year there was offered at the altar, in Canterbury, to Christ £3 2s. 6d.; to the Virgin, £63 5s. 6d.; but to St. Thomas, £832 12s. 3d. The next year, not a penny to Christ; but to the Virgin, £4 1s. 6d.; and to St. Thomas, £954 6s. 3d."

Next came the begging friars, who very much supplanted the monks by their popularity, and who, in their turn, became rich, *corrupt, and dissolute.*

giving to the worst dogmas of the Church of Rome the grossest forms. Idolatry became excessive ; pilgrimage, and homage to relics, were extolled as of the highest efficacy in obtaining favour with God ; and the church became a market for absolutions and indulgences on the largest scale.

All the superstitions of the Church of Rome had risen to the highest pitch in England, and the Pope had almost undisputed sway in all temporal and spiritual matters, when Wiclif,* who may be called the pioneer of the Protestant Reformation, dared to come forward as the champion of a true Christianity. That his first protestations should have comprehended the entire scope of the errors of the Church of Rome, was not to be expected. Neither did Luther's, when he commenced his career of reform about a hundred and fifty years afterwards. In the midst of such darkness, the full light of truth did not burst at once on either of these great minds. In both cases, it was the progress of the contest that brought them more fully out ; though Wiclif did not live long enough to finish his work, or to have the honour of martyrdom, which was fully determined for him at Rome. In 1356, at the age of thirty-two, he published his first work against the covetousness of the Court of Rome, entitled, "The Last Age of the Church," a topic with which he must have been deeply impressed, in view of the system of pecuniary exactions

* We follow Bishop Short in the spelling of this name, who, being one of the latest writers on these times, and on that branch of history, we suppose, had good reason, based, probably, on what he regarded as a return to the original letters used.

practised by that Court on all the world, particularly in England. The productions of Wiclif's pen were prodigious, all done within the range of twenty-eight years. Besides his translation of the Bible, his works, tracts and all, amounted to nearly three hundred.

In the opening of his career, Wiclif made an undisguised attack on the supremacy of the Pope, and in vindication of the independent rights of the crown, or civil magistrate. This was vital, and struck at the very foundation of the mighty fabric of Papacy. Wiclif was the open enemy of the friars, who, being an every-where present body among the people, raised a world of opposition against him; notwithstanding which, however, the right of his cause, his personal influence, and his writings are represented by some authorities as having alienated one half of the people of England from the Church of Rome; though much of this opposition to Papacy sprung up in forms which Wiclif would not have desired, and which he could not control, as for example, the Lollards. Nevertheless, it was a seed of the Reformation, and a great portion of this current of opinion was afterwards blended with the movement which signalized the triumph of the Reformers. The work once begun, under such an impulse, could not be stopped, as it harmonized so entirely with the wishes of mankind. A cause so ripe, needed nothing but a leader, a captain, who, at this juncture, was found in Wiclif. He acknowledged his obligations to his predecessor, Greathead, *Bishop of Lincoln*, a century before, and to Fitzralph,

a cotemporary, both of whom might have been forgotten, but for him.

Another matter in which Wiclif distinguished himself, was his preaching and writing against the doctrine of transubstantiation. This also was vital with the authorities of the Church of Rome, a denial of which was punishable with death. Nevertheless, Wiclif boldly denounced it, both from the pulpit, and with his pen. He opposed the Pope in his pecuniary demands on the king—a mortal offence. In England Wiclif was the high priest of opposition to Papacy, though he did not go so far as later Reformers, in the detail of his objections to the false doctrines of the Church of Rome ; but he continued to hold, and in a moderate way, to advocate some of them, as for example, that of purgatory. He was opposed to the constrained celibacy of the clergy, the evils of which were too flagrant before his eyes. He opposed auricular confession, denounced indulgences, and many other doctrines and practices of the Church, involving principles common to all Protestants. The extent of his heretical opinions, as adjudged by the Papists, may be estimated by the fact, that a commission sent to Oxford by Archbishop Arundel, after the death of Wiclif, to counteract the influence which he had left behind him in that university, found two hundred and ninety-eight conclusions in his writings, which were pronounced erroneous. Wiclif always appealed to the Bible for authority. It was his experience of the want of the Bible among the people, as a standard of appeal for doctrine, and as a rule of life, that induced him to sit

down to the great task of translating it. In 1377, the pope (Gregory XI.) appointed a commission for the trial of Wiclif, which, though he appeared, was twice broken up by popular demonstrations in his favour. The functions of the commission, before they were consummated, ceased with the death of the pope ; and death itself, in 1384, rescued the Reformer from farther molestation of papal tribunals, and no doubt from martyrdom.

Without doubt, Wiclif may be regarded as the primitive apostle of the Protestant Reformation, not only in England, but for the continent. John Huss is said to have come to his eminence as a Reformer, and to the stake as a martyr, by the influence of Wiclif's writings. They were disseminated over Europe, and no doubt contributed largely in raising up that noble host of Reformers, who appeared upon the stage in the sixteenth century. The seed once planted, never ceased to germinate, and bring forth fruit.

But we have at present chiefly to do with this influence, as it bore upon the English Reformation. Bishop Short says, "there is an almost uninterrupted succession of martyrs and confessors from this time (the time of Wiclif) to the period of the Reformation" (English, and of course continental). The English Reformation dates from the reign of Henry the Eighth, though it actually began, as seen above, with Wiclif, and continued to operate in the public mind, till Henry declared off from the Court of Rome, and assumed the rights over the English

Church and nation, which had before been usurped by the Pope.

And here it becomes necessary to consider the position which Henry the Eighth occupied in this transition, and which has subsequently been occupied by the British sovereign, for the time being, as head of the Church. Much obloquy has been attempted to be fastened on the Church of England, that she should have come to her Reformation under such a leader ; that she should have acknowledged such a head ; and that she should still continue to acknowledge the British sovereign as head of the Church. The effect of this demonstration, so far as any is produced, arises entirely from the lack of discrimination between the position of the sovereign and that of the Church, in the premises.

Can we not understand the position of Cyrus, the "anointed" of the Lord, as presented in the opening of the forty-fifth chapter of Isaiah ? "Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden For Jacob my servant's sake and Israel mine elect, I have even called thee by thy name, though thou hast not known me." Cyrus was a pagan, and knew not God. For aught we know, he may have been as bad a prince as Henry the Eighth, or worse. But God had chosen him as an instrument for the accomplishment of important purposes in favour of his people Israel. In that sense, and for these objects, he was God's "anointed." There is no approbation of his personal character in this. On the contrary, it is said, "though thou hast not known me." In the same

manner God often employs the kings and princes of the earth to fulfil his great designs, at the same time, that the agents, thus employed, may be utter reprobates.

It was precisely in this sense, that Henry the Eighth was employed to rescue the English Church and nation from the dominion and power of the Pope of Rome ; and what is more, the vices of Henry were made the instruments of accomplishing this end. "His very vices," says Bishop Short, "were, by the providence of God, made the instruments of beneficial results. His desire to divorce Catharine destroyed the Papal power in England. His tyranny, and the influence which he exercised over his subjects, enabled him to dissolve the monastic establishments—a power which must have impeded every step toward reformation, had they been continued in existence ; and with regard to their destruction, if he had been troubled with a very scrupulous conscience, he would never have resorted to the means by which he accomplished this stupendous work. . . . It seems probable, that, unless the rapacity of Henry and his courtiers had previously scattered the wealth, and thus destroyed much of the worldly power of the Church (of Rome), the Reformation (in England) would hardly have taken place at this time. It was avarice which led them to make this attack on property. But, in attempting to defend their conduct, they examined the grounds on which those foundations were laid ; and soon found the instability of a building, which had neither sound reason in its

favour nor the revealed word of God for its support.”*
(§ 228, § 248.)

* The surrender of the monasteries is a curious and somewhat amusing piece of history. It seems that the heads of these houses were required to sign a renunciation of Papacy, and a new faith. The apparent facility with which those signatures were obtained would seem to indicate, that they were not quite ready to be martyrs for the Pope. These documents, Bishop Burnet says, were mostly destroyed in the reign of Queen Mary. A few, however, remain, of which the two following are specimens :—

“ Forasmuch as we, Richard Green, Abbot of our monastery, of our blessed lady St. Mary of Bethesden, and the convent of said monastery, do profoundly consider, that the whole manner and trade of living, which we and our pretended religion have practiced, and used many days, does most principally consist in certain dumb ceremonies, and other certain constitutions of the Bishop of Rome, and other forensical potentates, as the Abbot of Cistins, and therein only noseled, and not taught in the true knowledge of God’s laws, procuring always exemptions of the Bishop of Rome, from our ordinaries, and diocesans; submitting ourselves principally to forensical potentates, and powers, which never came here to reform such disorders of living and abuses, as now have been found to have reigned among us. And, therefore, now assuredly knowing, that the most perfect way of living is most principally and sufficiently declared unto us by our Master Christ, his Evangelists, and Apostles, and that it is most expedient for us to be governed and ordered by our supreme head, under God, the king’s most noble grace, with our mutual assent and consent, we submit ourselves, every one of us, to the most benign mercy of the king’s majesty, and by these presents do surrender,” &c.

Another : “ Forasmuch as we the prior and friars of this house of Carmalites, in Stamford, commonly called the white friars in Stamford, in the county of Lincoln, do profoundly consider, that the perfection of Christian living does not consist in dumb ceremonies, wearing of a white coat, disguising ourselves after strange fashions, docking and becking, wearing scapulars and hoods, and other like papistical ceremonies, wherein we have been most principally practised and noseled in times past; but the very true way to please God,

As to King Henry's having been the head of the Church, and so of his successors down to this time, a few words may suffice.* It cannot be denied,

and to live a true Christian man, without all hypocrisy and feigned dissimulation, is sincerely declared to us by our Master Christ, his Evangelists, and Apostles; being minded hereafter to follow the same, conforming ourselves to the will and pleasure of our supreme head, under God, on earth, the king's majesty; and not to follow henceforth the superstitious traditions of any forensical potentate or power, with mutual assent and consent, we do submit ourselves unto the mercy of our said sovereign lord, and with the like mutual assent and consent do surrender," &c. *Bishop Burnet's History of the Reformation, Records, Part I. Book III.*

The Papal writer, Sanders, whose habit of mendacity is proved by Bishop Burnet, says, "The Abbots of Glastonbury, Colchester, and Reading, suffered martyrdom for refusing to sign." But the Bishop says, "no such writing was ever offered to them, and that they were attainted by legal trial of high treason." It does not appear that any of the Monks ever became martyrs on this account. They were too fond of life and good fare.

* The first and second Canons of 1603 will, perhaps, define the position of the British Sovereign, as head of the Church, sufficiently for common apprehension. They agree with Bishop Gibson's definition of this relation, elsewhere given in these pages. It is to supersede the Pope, and keep him off. The two Canons referred to are as follows :—

1. "As our duty to the King's most excellent majesty requireth, we first decree and ordain, that the Archbishop of Canterbury, from time to time, all bishops of this province, all deans, archdeacons, parsons, vicars, and all other ecclesiastical persons, shall faithfully keep and observe, and as much as in them lieth, shall cause to be observed and kept by others, all and singular laws and statutes made for restoring to the crown of this kingdom the ancient jurisdiction over the state ecclesiastical, and abolishing of all foreign power repugnant to the same. Furthermore, all ecclesiastical persons, having cure of souls, and all other preachers and readers of Divine lectures, shall, to the utmost of their wit, knowledge, and learning, purely and sincerely,

that much was gained to the Church, and to the cause of Christianity, by transferring that power

without any colour or dissimulation, teach, manifest, open, and declare, four times every year at the least, in their sermons and other collations and lectures, that all usurped and foreign power, (forasmuch as the same hath no establishment nor ground by the law of God), is for most just causes taken away and abolished; and that, therefore, no manner of obedience or subjection, within his majesty's realms and dominions, is due unto any such foreign-power; but that the King's power within his realms of England, Scotland and Ireland, and all other his dominions and countries, is the highest power under God; to whom all men, as well inhabitants as born within the same, do, by God's laws, owe most loyalty and obedience, afore and above all other powers and potentates, in the earth.

2. "Whosoever shall hereafter affirm, that the king's majesty hath not the same authority in causes ecclesiastical, that the godly kings had among the Jews, and Christian emperors of the primitive Church; or impeach of his regal supremacy in the said causes restored to the Crown, and by the laws of this realm therein established; let him," &c.

The following is an extract from the Episcopal oath of allegiance to Henry the Eighth:—

"I acknowledge and recognize your majesty immediately under Almighty God, to be the chief and supreme head of the Church of England, and claim to have the Bishopric of Chester, whole and alone of your gift; and to have and to hold the profits temporal and spiritual of the same only of your Majesty, and of your heirs kings of this realm, and of none other; and in that sort, and none other, I shall take my restitution out of your hands accordingly, utterly renouncing any other suit to be had therefor to any other creature living, or hereafter to be, except your heirs. And I shall to my wit and uttermost of my power observe, keep, maintain, and defend, all the statutes of this realm made against the reservations and provisions of the Bishop of Rome, called the Pope, of any of the archbishoprics or bishoprics in the realm, or of other your dominions." *Burnet, Part III., Records.*

from Rome to the Crown of England. However undesirable such a connexion between the Church and State may be, it was not in the power of the Church at that time, to choose between that and the alternative of independence, without breaking up her organization, and falling back into original elements; in other words, into a state of anarchy. The Church was providentially and entirely passive in that opera-

A word may also here be said, in addition to what we have given on page 3, on the same point and same text, touching the religious obligations of Christians to the State, as an "ordinance of God," which will apply very especially to the Church of England, in the progress of the Reformation, and ever since, though the subject involves a general principle. "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers. For there is no power (no civil government) but of God. The powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever, therefore, resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God." (Saint Paul, Rom. xiii. 1 and 2.) This is not to be regarded as a Divine sanction of the civil governments then existing, as being in all respects such as they ought to be. They may have been, and probably were, very corrupt—more so even than the government of Henry the Eighth of England. We suppose, as remarked in page 3, that the above cited inspired precept, is based on the principle that the cause of Christianity can be more easily and more effectually promoted, under any civil government, than none at all; and that the good order and quiet of civil governments, whatever may be their character, are more favourable to Christianity, than a different state of things. Hence the precept. All civil governments are providential arrangements; and on account of their importance to the Church for the accomplishment of her ends, they are elevated to the eminent position of "ordinances of God," and are required to be respected and obeyed as such. This is the duty of Christians, in all ages, and in all countries. This principle applied to the Church of England, in the beginning and progress of the Reformation, and has been equally applicable ever since. In her position she could only do as the state ordered.

tion ; but it was a great gain to her. The King had his own purposes, and God had his to accomplish, by this relation, as in the severance of the ties between the State and the Pope. Nor did the relation extend so far as to impair the administrative functions of the Church as a spiritual body. On the contrary, it secured to the Church a far greater degree of freedom and independence, than was before enjoyed ; and neither then, nor at any time since, under Protestant rule, did the sovereign ever interfere with the appropriate priestly offices of the Church, except, perhaps, in some instances, to require uniformity, which can hardly be called an interference of this kind. The administrative functions of the Church in England, have always been held and kept sacred to the ministers of religion. Opinion on this subject has ever been too strong for the sovereign to dare to violate it ; and that opinion has constantly been growing in strength. Since the Reformation was consummated, we are not aware, that the power of the British sovereign, as head of the Church, while in Protestant hands, has ever been employed, except, first, to regulate the temporalities of the Church, through Parliament ; next, to license the action of Convocation as an ecclesiastical body ; and thirdly, to regulate any action of that body tending to revolution or change in the constitution, offices, and faith of the Church. Nor are we aware, that it has ever yet been in the power of the Church of England to separate from the State, without jeopardizing her existence ; at least, without jeopardizing her essential prosperity. Uncomfortable, therefore, and in many

respects detrimental, as this connexion is, it is a question of prudence with those most intimately concerned, when and how far it shall be severed. Like slavery in the United States, it was a thing not to be sought ; but, having been providentially inherited and imposed, it demands the wisest and most conscientious treatment.

Though the relation of Religion to the State, in our own country, does not go so far, it is, nevertheless, based on the same principle as in England, to wit, protection. By our laws, we protect religion in one way ; they do it in another. In both cases, as now exercised, it is a protective and fostering care of government. We originated our plan ; theirs was inherited and imposed. Ours, we believe, is the best, the only true, and in all respects, the only safe way ; and we sympathize with those who have not yet been able to adopt it, which is simply to protect religion, and to grant such corporate privileges as religious bodies require for the management of their temporalities. So far, it is a connexion of Church and State, and a very essential one. Moreover, both the Federal and State Governments have adopted Christianity by the religious sanction of an oath on the New Testament, which is a fundamental moral element in a civil commonwealth. They also employ Christian chaplains in Congress, in the Army and Navy, and in the State Legislatures, to give a religious sanction to all public acts. By these recognitions, and by this relation of the Church to the State, we are a Christian nation. Yet far, the Christian Sabbath is *a non dies* in the common law of the land. On

that day, the nation ceases from its labours. All public functionaries rest, all public offices are closed, and all legislation and civil contracts, having that date, are void. This, surely, is a high and commanding evidence of a connexion of Religion with the State, and of the influence of the former upon the latter.

But to return to the Reformation. The general mind of the English nation had been prepared by Wicliff and others, his successors, though less conspicuous, for the change. The continental movement, too, had begun, and a common sympathy in the cause of the Reformation, was felt throughout Christendom. It was only necessary for an adequate power in England to strike the blow. That blow was struck by the hand of Henry the Eighth, no thanks to his motives, or to his virtue. He was the instrument of Providence, that is all, and that was enough. The severance of the State from the Church of Rome was made forever, except for the brief period of Queen Mary's reign; and the Church of England was independent of the Church of Rome. It is true the English Reformation did not by a single bound leap to perfection. The Church was held too strong in the grasp of her organization for a rapid movement. In all matters of reform, that which is slow is often, if not generally, most secure; more especially when the reform is great, and when force of arms is not required. The object of a sound reformation is to throw away the bad and keep the good. But impetuous reformers often destroy both, and adopt that which is worse still than the bad rejected. We shall yet see

the benefit of the gradual reformation of the Church of England, as providentially ordered ; and we may remark in this place, that the chief good is the preservation of a ritual, approved by the piety of so many ages ; the maintenance of the Catholic faith handed down from primitive times, and incorporated with the ritual ; and a Church organization, which, with such modifications as the American Episcopal Church has secured, is, we think, well fitted to buffet the storms of all ages, and to triumph at last.

The policy of Henry the Eighth, in relation to the Court of Rome, and the internal acts of his reign corresponding thereunto, gave no inconsiderable scope to the Protestant feeling of the English public ; but they were far from affording a full gratification to it. The supremacy of the Pope was broken down ; the monasteries were suppressed ; the liturgy was adapted to the essential changes already effected ; and the publication and common use of the Scriptures were allowed. But the king never fully relinquished the hope of an accommodation of his controversy with the Pope. Bishop Short remarks of what was accomplished in this reign for the Protestant cause, as follows :—"The power of the Papacy in England was for the time annihilated, not merely by legislative enactments, not merely by taking away the wealth of the supporters of so monstrous a scheme of oppression ; but by breaking the charm which had given energy to the whole, by weakening the force on which this machine depended for its motion. The superstitions of the Church of

Rome had been attacked in their very origin, and many of the more gross of her idolatries had been put down by the civil power. But the method which had been most successfully adopted, was that of allowing the people to think and judge for themselves. The Bible and the Creeds had been declared to be the rule of faith; the use of the Bible had been granted to the people; and they were directed to read the Word of God, and to learn from it their duty towards Him and their neighbour. The monasteries were deprived of the real source of their riches, when the notion of purgatory was discountenanced, and when, in the instructions delivered to the people, no mention was made of this doctrine, from whence the influence of the Church of Rome is derived. The translation of the Bible was authorized by the government; copies of it were distributed throughout the kingdom; and the litany was published in the mother tongue. The people had now the means of instruction, and the blessing was insured to the rising generation." (§ 229.)

But it was left for Edward the Sixth, a youthful prince, by the regency established, by the Parliament, and by the aid of the clergy, to carry forward the Reformation to a point from which there was no retreat; though it was put in check by the subsequent reign of his sister, Queen Mary. The Book of Common Prayer, now in use in the Church of England, was prepared under the auspices of this young prince; and, singular to say, it has never been essentially altered down to this time, so perfect

and thoroughly Protestant was the work. The same Book has been adopted by the American Episcopal Church, with such alterations as would adapt it to the institutions of the country since the establishment of American independence, and with a few other slight amendments. In the compilation of this Book, there was no disposition to reject any thing found in the liturgy, offices, and faith of the Church, simply because it came from the Church of Rome. The operation of that principle would have unchristianized the Church of England. But the object was to reject the bad, and save the good, as the only sound and safe method of reform. The Church of Rome was once pure as well as Catholic; and all, or nearly all, that was ever good in her, was still there. It was her superstitions and corruptions introduced in the lapse of centuries, that required to be expurgated; it was her numerous absurd dogmas that needed to be set aside; and her preposterous pretensions, and absorbing claims, which demanded to be broken down. It was required to get back on the primitive platform, retaining all that was good in the Church, and reasserting the true Catholic faith of primitive times. To accomplish this end, the Church of England, in her work of reform, not only deigned to use her discrimination in drawing from the ritual of the Church of Rome, but she availed herself of the work which had already been accomplished by the Protestants on the continent. "In our public services," says Bishop Short, "the greater part of the Common Prayer Book is taken from the Roman ritual, and

some portions are borrowed from the Lutheran Churches ; or rather drawn up in imitation of them. In our articles are contained the great truths of Christianity, which we hold in common with the Church of Rome. There are many more which we derived from the Lutheran Church. There are some in which we differ from both. The formularies which distinguish us as a Christian community, had no reference to the theology of Geneva." (§ 341, § 342.) In Cardwell's collation of "the two Books of Common Prayer set forth by authority of Parliament in the reign of King Edward the Sixth," it will be found, that the one established in 1549 was essentially altered in that of 1552. It is the latter which is referred to as the Prayer Book of the English Church. The alterations afterwards made in 1560 under Elizabeth, in 1604 under James I., in 1633 under Charles I., and in 1661, the last revision, were not sufficient to impair the identity of the Book of 1552. Neither that, however, nor the American Book with its local adaptations, is claimed to be perfect ; but with the liberal toleration, by the Church authorities in both countries, of some discrepancies of opinion, under the common admission that the Prayer Book has its imperfections, there is less urgent necessity of making haste for a revision of it. It is soundly Protestant, and thoroughly Catholic ; and there is great reluctance to take it in hand for amendment, lest it should be injured. This Book has ever held, and still holds both the English and American

Churches sound in the Catholic faith ; and long may it do so.

The Protestant Reformation in England was nearly perfected under Edward the Sixth. It was, indeed, considered as fully established. The state went forward, hand-in-hand, with the Church ; and little, probably, would have been accomplished without the aid and protection of the state. What would Luther have done, without the protection of Frederick, the Elector of Saxony ? Unless he had been rescued by a miracle, he would have been overwhelmed, and the cause of Protestantism on the continent, would have fallen with him. We know not how much we are indebted to this joint action of Church and State at that period. They were so mixed up that they could not be separated in the common cause. The Protestant Reformation as much concerned civil as religious liberty ; for the claims of the Pope were spread over the state as well as over the Church, in all countries ; and it will always be so as long as there is a Pope. There was a validity, an authority, a force, in the support given by the English government to the Protestant cause ; an authority that commanded respect, and a force which could not be despised. It was the same in Frederick's advocacy of the same cause on the continent. The Pope had the physical force of kings at his command ; and when civil liberty was concerned, it was natural that princes should engage in the controversy, not only in their own defence, but in the defence of those of their subjects, of which the Church is composed, whose weapons are not

carnal but spiritual. Besides, in the Church and State establishment of England, the king was head of the Church, and was bound to vindicate her rights.

By the death of Edward the Sixth, and the accession of Mary, the Pope was again reinstated in his power over England; and for five long years and more, the Protestants were doomed to persecution and martyrdom. Nearly three hundred were brought to the stake, during this short reign, headed by Archbishop Cranmer, and Bishops Latimer, Ridley, and Ferrar. Every thing that power could do, was done, to put down Protestantism in England, and to re-establish Popery. But then, as ever, the blood of martyrs was the seed of the Church. Protestantism, though for the most part secretly, spread and flourished, in consequence of the very atrocities to which it was subjected, till Mary died, and Elizabeth ascended the throne, when the Protestant Church of England was fully and firmly established, never again, we trust, to acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope, or to submit to the authority of the Church of Rome.*

* "From the days of Queen Elizabeth, things did generally put on a new visage; and the Church of England, since that time, has continued to be the sanctuary and shelter of all foreigners, the chief object of the envy and hatred of the popish church, and the great glory of the Reformation; and has wisely avoided the splitting asunder on the high points of the Divine decrees, which have broken so many of the Reformed beyond the sea."—*Burnet's Preface to Part II., Book I.*

"Thus have I prosecuted what I at first undertook, the progress of the Reformation, from its first and small beginnings in England, till it came to a complete settlement in the time of this Queen" (Elizabeth).—*Burnet, end of Part II., Book III.*

It is proper, however, in this place, to remark, that the intolerance of Elizabeth towards the Nonconformists, was the apparent cause of that great schism in the Church of England, which afterwards produced such immense disaster both to the Church and State, by the continued operation of the same cause in the English government. It cannot but be seen, that, if the modern toleration of the British government towards Dissenters, is right, the severe measures of Elizabeth, of Charles the First, and of other British sovereigns, towards Nonconformists and the Puritans, were wrong. It may also be remarked, that the Church of England has been wrongfully made responsible for those measures. It was not the Church ; it was the State. All those acts were acts of the State solely. Churchmen, acting as statesmen in these times, were out of place, and it would be unjust to the Church to hold her responsible for their acts while officiating in that capacity. The great mistake was, that the genius of the English people was not consulted, as it now is, in framing measures of government. The people of England were ever loyal, but not less lovers of freedom. Freedom in those times, and in these matters, was not understood, certainly not conceded, by the government. It is equally true of a civil government and of a Church, that both will disappoint their mission, by refusing to consult the genius of the people where Providence has planted them.

Justice requires us to make the distinction between the acts of the State and the acts of the Church, in the entire line and scope of the treatment of the Nonconformists, Puritans, and Dissenters, by the

government of England, from the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth, down to the passage of the modern acts of toleration, which have removed these occasions of just complaint. The author of these pages once thought, as many others doubtless do, that the Church of England was responsible for those unjust measures, or at least so mixed up with them, as to deserve reproach on their account. But it is a simple historical fact, that, from time immemorial, the connexion of the Church of England with the State, has been, and still is, on her part, entirely passive. She has always been a captive in the hands of the State, and could never get out; and she is still a captive there, as demonstrated by the recent acts of Convocation. Whenever Churchmen, as in the case of Laud, have figured as Statesmen and as magistrates, it was the State, and not the Church; and the State alone was responsible for their acts. Doubtless there were Churchmen, high in rank, who sympathised with those unjust measures; but still they were acts of the State alone. The Church of England, as a Church, was never committed to them, was never responsible for them. This principle runs through the whole history of the Church of England, in her connexion with the State. That she has always been in the hands of the State, was an ordering of Providence. She has never been responsible for the acts of the State, though she has suffered great reproach on account of them, when they were made to bear oppressively on Nonconformists, Puritans, and Dissenters, for the sake of the Church, in those affairs which the State, in its own sovereignty, undertook to manage.

The position of all classes of Dissenters at this day, is purely political, and always has been. Their complaints are against the government. The government of Great Britain has learned too late, that its own former acts of oppression were the cause of the immense schisms in the Church, which even modern toleration cannot heal.

If, therefore, we look at the facts of history, we shall find, that the government of England, though an "ordinance of God" for the accomplishment of his own purposes, was a very corrupt institution, when it was used as an instrument of rescuing the Church from Papacy ; that the government of Edward the Sixth was pure, and that the Reformation under him, made an immense stride ; that Elizabeth, though a Protestant, was cruel and tyrannical towards Non-conformists ; that Charles the First, and his government, so exasperated the English nation, as to cause his throne and the Church to be borne down by the tempest ; and that by the fault of the State, for a long period, the Church, always in the hands of the State, suffered the greatest disadvantages, and passed through the most painful vicissitudes, without remedy. But the Church was not responsible for the faults of the State in administering her affairs. She was a sufferer, but not the actor, in those unfortunate transactions.

But to return from this digression. Not to notice the political advantages to England, derived from the Protestant Reformation, which do not fall directly within the scope of our purpose, we will here conclude our notice of the English branch of that great

and eventful movement, in a few words of Bishop Short, on its spiritual results :

“ We have learned thereby the fundamental truth on which the whole of Christianity rests, nay, which is itself Christianity : That we are accounted righteous before God only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by faith, and not of our own works, or deservings ; that good works, however pleasing to God, are only accepted as proofs of the faith which we entertain in the mercy of heaven, and as proceeding from love towards him who hath redeemed us ; that acts of penitence, however sincere, can in no sense be deemed a compensation for our sin, although they may prove useful to ourselves in preventing the repetition of our crimes ; and that there is no sacrifice for sin but the atonement that was once offered on the Cross.

“ The establishment of these truths virtually got rid of the greater part of the superstitious rites, with which religion had been overwhelmed, and she was again enthroned in the heart of the true believer, instead of being identified with ceremonious observances. A Communion had been substituted in lieu of the Mass, the efficacy of which consists in the institution of Christ, and the state of the conscience, and not in the magic virtue of priestly offices. The personal responsibility of the individual Christian was clearly insisted on ; and though the laity were not deprived of the comfort and aid of spiritual guidance, yet that inquisitorial power which the clergy had exercised, by means of auricular confessions, was removed, and the priesthood became the directors of

their flocks, and not the self-constituted judges on which pardon might be obtained from the Almighty. They were still the keepers of the keys of the kingdom of heaven ; but by the dissemination of the Scriptures, and the progress of education, the rest of their brethren were permitted to guide their own footsteps towards the gates of paradise. The Bible was indeed committed to their peculiar care ; but it was not withheld from the hands of the people ; so that though it was their especial duty to lead on their fellow-servants, in the right path, yet they could no longer, like the lawyers of old, take away the key from others, or prevent those from entering in who would gladly do so. All were taught to examine for themselves. . . The first great step towards religious liberty was irrevocably taken, when it was authoritatively stated (Articles of Religion, XXI.), that every assembly of human beings was liable to err, even in things pertaining to God. At the same time a very material diminution was made in the power of the Church, considered as a body distinct from the laity, when the clergy were allowed to connect themselves with the rest of society, by those ties of matrimony which the law of God has left open to all." (§ 413.)

The Continental Reformation.

Martin Luther was an obedient son of the Church of Rome, had done her some service, and was disposed to do more ; and he would never have lifted up his hand against her, if his fealty to God had not

been stronger than his attachment to Rome. All the mighty spirits of the Reformers, Anglican and Continental, sympathizing in a common cause, were made mighty by a sense of the mighty wrongs endured. Their natural endowments, superior though they were, would probably never have figured conspicuously in history, but for the occasion that forced them into vigorous action. The atrocities of the Church of Rome had mounted into contempt for the opinions of mankind, and into an impious defiance of the throne of heaven. Never before, nor since, did that machinery of iniquity and crime tower so loftily, or stride onward with such audacity, or show itself so confident of irresistible sway, as in the former part of the sixteenth century. Its framework was then complete, and it has never since been improved, except in the development of the grand conception of Ignatius Loyola. The Primate of all Christendom had nothing left to acquire, as the Vicar of God on earth, and occupied the summit of command over this world and the future, so far as man is interested in either. Every pretention of the Church of Rome had been put forward in its full dimensions, and was generally conceded; every dogma had been framed and shaped to its exact purpose, and been long in vogue; every part of the stupendous machinery seemed well adjusted; and the world awaited the doing of its work. "*Quem Deus vult perdere, prius dementat.*" Whom God will destroy, he first makes mad.

That was the hour of destiny for the Church of Rome. She was indeed mad. Intoxicated with

power, she rushed on Germany, to crush the spirits, which her own atrocities had stirred up. She had made them what they were, no longer filial, but questioning her authority, never before questioned; and to unmake such a work of her own hand, was not an easy task. It was a mighty struggle, and one in which the world then, and in all future time, was interested. In connexion with what was at the same time going on in England, it was the great battle of freedom on earth, not indeed for its instant maturity, but to fix a fulcrum for the lever of all its future operations. The greatest blessing to man comes not without cost, or without time. If so many centuries were required for the erection of this mighty machine for man's oppression, can it reasonably be expected to take less than centuries to redeem man from the consequences of so great a delinquency as the permission of this great wrong to himself?

Germany, thoroughly roused to resistance, and Rome, bent on vengeance, met in conflict, with Martin Luther to lead on one side, and the legate of the Pope on the other; the former armed with truth and a consciousness of right, and the latter backed by all the power of the Pope, then mighty and dominant in Europe. It was a direct encounter of the pure principles of Christianity with the principles of the Church of Rome; and it presented an opportunity to show, in open debate, that the poles of the earth could not be wider apart, or point in directions more distinctly opposite. The Church of Rome, for a long succession of ages, had been grow-

ing up to her full stature, and extending the domain of her influence, with little opposition from within, and had never failed easily to put it down when it started up. She was not accustomed to grapple with such sturdy sons as Martin Luther and his coadjutors. This, with the corresponding movement in England, constituted an epoch in her own history, as well as in the history of the world—an epoch of her own creation, forced upon her by her folly, by her presumption, by her arrogance, by her blind trust in that machinery of iniquity which she had so long wielded with such skill and success. While Germany, waked up to rebellion, and led on by Luther in vindication of the proper genius of Christianity; of the rights of that conscience which God has planted in the breast of man; of the rights of the true Church; of the rights of humanity as embodied, or intended to be embodied, in the politics of nations—all in opposition to such claims as those of the Church of Rome;—while Germany, we say, stood waiting for the onset, the legate of the Pope presented himself, not for a parley, but for submission; and to demand the person of the chief offender, to be tried at Rome, whose fate there was already sealed; to be followed up by signal vengeance on his sympathizers and coadjutors. It was a dream of easy victory on the part of him, who “as God sat in the temple of God, showing himself that he was God.” What! a monk oppose a Pope, and lift his hand against the papal throne with success! Could any body imagine that? But the monk had a potent right against a stupendous wrong. The

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monk was a man for the time, for the world, for all succeeding time. The monk had been a student in the Scriptures, and in the polity of the Church of Rome. The monk had well considered the arrogant pretensions of the Pope, and the absurd and blasphemous dogmas of the hierarchy. The monk had been baptized with the true spirit of Christianity. The monk had a conscience, and respected its behests ; he had learning, and knew how to use it ; he had had opportunity to give his thoughts to the public, and to educate a prince and a people in his own principles, before he was called to account. The monk was endowed with courage, and feared not "as many devils as there were tiles on the roofs of the houses at Worms." In short, the monk, taking the Bible as a text, understood it and imbibed its spirit ; he understood the true genius of Christianity ; he understood the ground on which he stood, as firm and impregnable, and that of the Church of Rome as utterly defective, and dangerous to stand upon. He knew her whole structure was a figment of art, and of man's device, mighty, indeed, but yet a product of human invention, for political ends, on a magnificent scale. The monk, by his preaching and by his pen, had waked up the reason of all Germany, and taught the world how to use it for the occasion. He had broken the spell which held under ban the right of private judgment as to the meaning of the Scriptures, and as to all spiritual things, thereby restoring the germ of freedom which is destined to grow into a trunk that shall defy the *winds and storms* of heaven, and spread its branches

over all the earth. For, however many things there may be to regret, as the first results of diversity and collision of opinion, it is the only path of freedom, the great highway to ultimate and universal concord; inasmuch as constant discontent, constant liability to convulsions in society, and constant abuse of the denial of the right, always have been, and can never fail to be, concomitants of this usurpation.

Luther had done much more: he had shown the enormity of indulgences; he had demolished the confessional, and scattered its fragments to the winds; he had asserted the rights of conscience as independent of all human authority; he had denied the primacy and infallibility of the Pope; he had denounced the doctrine of purgatory; he had restored the sacraments of Christianity, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, to their original position, in distinction from those foisted into that place by the Church of Rome; he had denounced monasteries and convents as corrupt and abominable institutions; and in contempt of the discipline of the Church, took to himself a wife. In short, Luther *protested* against the Pope, and the Church of Rome, in these and many other particulars, and in the face of all Europe and of the world, he defied and braved the Papal authority and power. We know the sequel: he succeeded, and Germany was revolutionized.

We know that Luther was not alone in the great work of the continental Reformation. He had his predecessors, such as Wiclif and Huss; he had his contemporaries, such as Melancthon and Zuinglius; he had successors, to carry on the work, in

Germany, in Switzerland, and in Holland ; and he had a mighty protector in Frederick, Elector of Saxony. But Luther's personal endeavours constituted the turning point of the continental Reformation. By his hand, the Papal power and pretensions, and all that constitutes the peculiar polity of the Church of Rome, received a blow from which they have never recovered, and can never recover. It was mortal. Such a monster may be a long time dying ; but it was doomed in the unequal contest with the Reformers.

We do not mean to exalt Martin Luther above his merits, nor to present him as a model of character in all things. He was a rough man, and might, perhaps, be called rash ; and he went off the stage holding some unripe opinions. A man does not leap, at a single bound, from a world of error into the possession of all truth. We see Luther groping very much in the dark, and undecided what to do, at least how far to go, when he first began his great work. Indeed, his work was not a plan of his own, but a plan of Providence. A child of a high destiny never reads beforehand the chapter of his own future history ; but comes to his several tasks, step by step. He is qualified for them by succeeding events. So was it with Luther. In every stage of his extraordinary career, once begun, he was waked up to new calls of duty, and forced to new efforts by new exigencies. It was a long time before he got half way in the field which he afterwards occupied. He grappled with the abominations of the Church of *Rome*, one by one, and he never fairly got hold of

them all. He was neither a ripe, nor an accomplished scholar, though a great and successful student; but he was a genius, which sees intuitively; he was honest and true to himself, to man, to God; he was bold, audacious, else he never would have begun the work which he finished. He had the biggest soul in all Germany, if not in all the world. He was the grand instrument of Providence for the occasion; and that is enough. Though Luther was a prince of Reformers, he did not make clean work of the Reformation. How could he? It was too great a work for one man, or for one age. But he dealt a mighty blow on the head of "the beast," that made him reel; he stripped "the woman" that sat upon the beast, of her gorgeous toilet, and exposed her shame; he greatly helped to prepare the way for Christendom to be redeemed from its long and grievous bondage; and if that does not recommend him to a place in the calendar of saints at Rome, it qualifies him eminently to be held in respect and esteem by all mankind.

Though Luther was necessarily a theologian, he was not an over nice one. He never did any thing *nicely*. A nice man could never have done his rough work; a prudent man would have shrunk from his perilous enterprise. Had he dreamed of it himself beforehand, even his spirit might have been appalled. But the cause which required his agency was, in every stage, the school of his training. He had no leisure for the study of metaphysics, or for the hair-splitting distinctions of modern theological schools. But he was a straight forward man of God, who felt that he had a

mission from God, and that he must fulfil it, though all the armies of hell were in his path.*

Comparison of the two Movements of the Reformation, Anglican and Continental, and of their Results.

It has been seen, that the movement began in England, through the instrumentality of Wiclif, nearly one hundred and fifty years before it came to a crisis there and on the continent; and that Wiclif,

* "So small a spark as that collision" (of the Church of Rome with Luther and his coadjutors), "made, could never have raised so great a fire, if the world had not been strongly disposed to it by the just prejudices they had conceived against the popish clergy, whose ignorance and lewd lives had laid them so open to contempt and hatred, that any one that would set himself against them, could not but be kindly looked on by the people. They (the clergy,) had engrossed the greater part both of the riches and power of Christendom, and lived at their ease, and in much wealth; and the corruptions of their worship and doctrine were such, that a very small portion of common sense, with but a slight looking into the New Testament, discovered them. Nor had they any other varnish to cover them by, but the authority and traditions of the Church. But when some studious men began to read the ancient fathers and councils, they found a vast difference between the first *five* ages (centuries) of the Christian Church, in which piety and learning prevailed, and the last *ten* ages (centuries) in which ignorance had buried all their former learning; only a little misguided devotion was retained for *six* of these ages (centuries), and in the last *four*, the restless ambition and usurpations of the Popes were supported by the seeming holiness of the begging friars, and the false counterfeits of learning, which were among the canonists, schoolmen, and casuists; so that, notwithstanding all the opposition of princes, it was incredible to see how men were generally inclined to these (new) doctrines."—*Burnet's Reformation, Part I., Book I.*

did a great work of preparation. The effects he produced constituted a broad platform of future operations, in England, in Germany, in Holland, in Switzerland, and in other parts of the continent. We have also seen, that, when these affairs came to a crisis in England, and in the progress of the Reformation there, they were managed and controlled by the strong hand of the civil power; that the Church of England was not broken up, but that she maintained her integrity, and her Catholic character; that her Episcopal organization was not at all disturbed; that the work of compiling a liturgy, and preparing articles of faith, under Edward the Sixth, was calm and sensible, not refusing to take what was good from the Church of Rome, and rejecting the bad; also consenting to be indebted to the Lutherans; and finally, that the Church of England came out from the trial, whole, sound, with provisions in her organization, in her liturgy, in her offices, and in her faith, fitted for all ages, so that they have not required to be essentially altered down to this time—a space of three hundred years. These, it must be acknowledged, are very remarkable facts. The Reformation in England was achieved comparatively without passion. The public policy of the government seems to have been always in the lead, and to have kept its hand upon the movement as a national interest. Nor is the Church liable to the reproach which has sometimes been cast upon her for this connexion. On the contrary, it was providentially ordered, to combine precisely the two agencies, in *opposing and putting down Papacy*,

which the case required; and it was no where done so well, and with so happy a result, as in England. The very thing so desirable to be accomplished in the Reformation, as an incident—and a most important one—was there achieved, to wit, that the fabric of the Church, as a Church, should neither be shaken, nor disturbed, not only that she might maintain her Catholic attitude, but that she might be fully armed, by her organization and liturgy, to hold and vindicate the Catholic faith in coming ages of trial, for the want of which other portions of the Protestant world, for instance Germany, have so signally failed to keep “the faith once delivered to the saints.”

Besides, the very idea of *Protestant*, in connexion with the history which has caused the name to be so applied, as much concerns civil as religious liberty, inasmuch as the claims of the Pope sweep over both these fields without qualification and without limit. There is this peculiarity in the position of all political fabrics, since the Protestant Reformation, viz., that the civil power, all the world over, is interested in the vindication of the rights of Protestant Churches, against the Church of Rome, and cannot escape from the obligation, so far as civil or political power is necessary. A simple demonstration may be sufficient, as in the case of the Elector of Saxony, who took Luther under his protection, without which, nothing but a miracle could have saved the Reformation in that quarter, at that time. All the Protestant sovereigns of England, since the Reformation, have *occupied that position*, and that is the position of

Queen Victoria at this moment. The whole power of the British empire is pledged in this cause ; and as long as the Church of Rome maintains her present attitude, with her present principles, there will never cease to be occasion for all nations, loving freedom, to stand upon their arms, in relation to these pretensions, preposterous as they are. For they are yet backed by a stupendous power, physical and political.

The importance of the Reformation on the continent, as a movement separate from that of England, under Martin Luther as its great champion, cannot be easily over-estimated, whether we regard it as bearing on the civil or religious rights of mankind ; although we shall necessarily find in it a radical defect, the unavoidable results of which have been unfortunate, and in some respects disastrous to the faith of Christianity. The blow on the power of the Church of Rome was vigorous and effective. It was more astounding than any other single movement of the Protestant Reformation. The world saw and admired, and will never cease to admire, the heroic courage and dauntless bearing of the great Reformer. Indeed, there was, in the part he acted, in that profound and comprehensive agony of the social state, so much to dazzle the eyes of observers then and ever since, that the world, in its admiration of that which was so truly great, has almost overlooked other equally, perhaps more important branches of the Reformation, carried on in a more quiet way. Martin Luther was the hero of a great drama. Single and alone, so far as intellectual and moral power was concerned, he

battled with and baffled the most gigantic power which has ever appeared on earth. Thanks to Frederick, who resolved to sustain him, and without whose protection he would have fallen. His victory was a complete and lasting triumph for Germany, and for the world.

Though the benefits of the Reformation by Luther have been great and enduring, he was rather a breaker down of that which was bad, than a builder up of that which was most needed at that juncture. He was more of a destructive than of a conservative. Fortunately, however, his destructive aims were well directed.

The Church of Rome had nearly every thing in her, from primitive times downward, that was wanted for a Reformed Church. She had an Apostolic ministry; she had the true catholic faith; she had common liturgical services and special offices of great value. A most perfect ritual could be found there. All these were things which were wanted in a Church reformed out of the Church of Rome, and which could not safely be dispensed with. A wise and sound reform takes the good, and throws away the bad. The very idea of a reform, supposes a result of this kind. And yet, so far as appears, the continental Reformation was not sufficiently careful in these particulars; but went on, for the most part, to build up all things new. If an Apostolic ministry could not be obtained from the Church of Rome, it might, probably, have been obtained from that of England. New creeds, new articles of faith, and *new offices* of religion, one varying from another,

were formed and introduced, in different parts of the Continental Reformed Churches. For the most part, they were sound ; but all of them wanted the sanction and unction of time. The forms of religion are ripened and mellowed by time only. If good, the older they are, so much the better. To reject any thing simply because it came from the Church of Rome, was most unwise.

If all the branches of the Reformation had been careful to secure to themselves an Episcopal ministry ; if they had adopted liturgical services, such as Calvin recommended in his letter to the Lord Protector of England in 1548, such as John Knox once prepared for the Church of Scotland, and such as the " Directory for the public worship of God" ordered for the three kingdoms by Parliament during the Commonwealth ; and if they had embodied in such liturgies and public offices the entire Catholic faith, that it should never cease to act upon the common mind as the sun and rain of heaven act upon the bosom of the earth, can it be imagined, would it have been morally impossible, that such signal defections from the Christian faith should have taken place, as those which have been witnessed in Protestant communities, on the continent of Europe ? Behold how the Catholic faith, adopted at the Protestant Reformation, has been maintained, word for word, syllable for syllable, by the Church of England, and in the American Episcopal Church ! How is this difference of result to be accounted for, except it be in the internal structure and economy of the respective bodies in question ? If that be the cause—doubtless it is—it affords a lesson of

most significant import, as well as of a most practical character.

It does not appear, that any branch of the Church of Christ ever existed without Episcopacy, till the continental Reformation ventured upon the responsible experiment. Over the entire field of the operations of Luther and Calvin, and of their co-adjutors, the result has been most disastrous to the Catholic faith. Probably a part of these deplorable consequences has been owing to other concurrent causes, such as the want of a common liturgy, and the Creeds incorporated with it. Wherever we find Episcopacy and a liturgy, we generally find the Catholic faith in its purity. Is not this great fact instructive ! We are also advised by it, that the non-episcopal branches of the Christian family cannot date farther back than about three centuries.

The Reformation in Scotland.

The crisis of the Reformation in Scotland was not developed so soon as in England and Germany ; and it was accomplished by force of arms. " The events which were contributed," says Bishop Short, " to throw down the power of the Church of Rome, are so totally different from those which produced the same effect in England, that it was scarcely to be expected that the two nations should regard their Church in the same light. . . . All truths, and particularly moral truths, are likely to be disseminated to the greatest advantage, when the process is slow,

and when the several stages are gradually communicated to those most interested in their admission or rejection. In England the class of Reformers was numerous long before the time of Luther ; and the Bible was here appealed to, as the standard of opinion, long before the dawn of the Reformation in Germany. . . . In England, during the reign of Edward VI., the Reformation was carried on chiefly by the government, and outstripped the opinions of the people. In Scotland, the feelings of the people were favourable to the Reformation, and the only hope of its final establishment was connected in their minds with the prospect of success entertained by those who must be viewed as rebels." (§ 491, § 494.)

The Queen had returned for answer to the exhortations of the Kirk, that she could not be persuaded into their religion ; whereupon the Kirk replied, that "this is no small grief to the Christian hearts of her godly subjects, considering, that the trumpet of Christ's Gospel has been so long blowing in this country, and his mercy so plainly offered in the same. . . . Our religion is not else than the same which Christ in the last days revealed. . . . We most reverently *require*, in the name of the Eternal God, that her majesty would embrace the means whereby she may be persuaded in the truth," preaching, &c., (*Burnet's Records, Part III.*) But in that she could not acquiesce. Nevertheless, the Kirk carried the Reformation, with such menance of force as prevailed. "One thing," says Bishop Burnet, "is not a little to the honour of Knox and his followers, in that tumultuary Reformation, that the multitude was so governed,

even amidst all that popular heat, that no blood was shed."

The Reformation was consummated by four acts of Parliament : " One for abolishing the Pope's power ; a second, for the repealing of all laws made in favour of the former superstition ; a third, for the punishing of those that said or heard mass ; and the fourth was a confirmation of the Confession of faith. This last was planned by Knox." (*Burnet's Reformation, Part III., Book III.*) Probably these acts all owed their origin to Knox, who was the governing spirit of the time.

All branches of the Reformation on the Continent may be regarded as constituting one body, ramifying from the Germanic column. In the movement at Geneva, with Calvin at its head, there was, perhaps, more independence of Luther's lead, than in any other; and on account of the theological debate, started by Calvin, it had a peculiar character, and a specific influence.

Our first remark on the *genius* of the Reformation, is, that it was naturally and necessarily a *correlative* of the genius of the Church of Rome, in having precisely those attributes which constitute the *opposites* of the vices of that Church, and which were required to encounter and subdue them. It was a genius of a decided and vigorous character, not unlike that of the primitive church, which was ready for martyrdom, and in a host of instances attained that distinction. It was a genius which gave character, and a new character, to the age, in a very wide extent. It made *an indelible stamp* in history, and secured a perpe-

tuity of influence, which was destined to spread over Europe, and over the world, and to affect not only religious, but political society. It waked up inquiry on all subjects, religious, philosophical, scientific, and political, and secured, to the extent of its domain, freedom to conscience, to intellectual effort, and to states. It broke the spell of authority, by which the Church of Rome had so long enchained the world, and opened a field for independent action to vigorous and aspiring minds. It was an introduction of a new era, not only in religion, but in civil freedom, in the social state, in learning, and in science. The predominant characteristic of the movement, related always to the arrogant claims, the despotic rule, the all-absorbing power, and the absurd and blasphemous dogmas of the Church of Rome; and no student of history can appreciate the genius of the Reformation, and its influence on mankind, who does not regard it in these aspects and relations.

The fact, that the political interests of all nations are necessarily involved in the cause of the Protestant Reformation, presents one of its most important features. The claims of the Pope, as we have seen in a former chapter, are over the temporal, as well as over the spiritual destinies of man. He is crowned not only with the *mitre*, but with the *tiara*, the latter denoting especially his political pretensions. He claims to be "King of kings, and Lord of lords," on earth. At his inauguration, literally "arrayed in purple, and scarlet, and gold, and precious stones, and pearls," he is lifted up by the Cardinals, and placed, sitting, on the Altar of God, "showing him-

self that he is God ;” and with a golden chalice at his side, he receives, by representation, the homage of the world.

By these and other signs and pretensions, so well certified, so long and so widely proclaimed, and so often, whenever it has been possible, put in force, all Protestant nations know, or may know, what their position is. He that is forewarned, is forearmed ; at least, it must be his own fault if he is not. Until the pages of history can be sealed up, every Protestant, throughout the world, sees what he may yet have to do. There is a strange, unnatural truce on this subject in the United States, arising from the fact, that the two great political parties of the country both have need of the votes of the subjects of the Pope of Rome. But the time may come when these parties will be as eager to shake off such help, as they are now to embrace it. The Protestant world may yet have to muster under the banner, floating in the breeze, *Dieu et mon droit*. There can never be peace, while the dome of St. Peter canopies the head of a Prince, whose throne is upheld by traffic in the souls and bodies of men.

CHAPTER VI.

THE GENIUS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

To suppose that every branch of the Christian Church has the same character, or that such uniformity is necessary to the objects of Christianity, would be a great mistake. On the contrary, it would be easy to show, as we must yet incidentally do in the progress of this work, that some considerable diversity of character, in the politics and discipline of different Churches, is not only the unavoidable result of the history and circumstances that have given birth to them, but indispensable to their greatest usefulness.

To arrive at a knowledge and just appreciation of the genius of the Church of England, some considerable range of history must be cursorily surveyed. In a future place in this work, it will be both pertinent and instructive, for the accomplishment of our main design, to present the contrast between the position of the Church of England, and that of the American Episcopal Church, relative to general society, and more particularly in relation to political society. It will, therefore, be very essential to have before us the condition of the English Church as a State establishment, which is not less necessary as an indication, in part, of her genius ; and this it will be impossible fully to understand, without a somewhat extended view of

the history of the national Synod of that Church, styled the CONVOCATION. The subject may, perhaps, as well be introduced, by a few citations from Burn's "*Ecclesiastical Law*." He says:—

"Though the word *Convocation* be in itself of a general signification, yet custom hath determined its sense" (in England) "to an ecclesiastical use, and made it, if not only, yet principally, to be restrained to the assemblies of the clergy. . . . These assemblies were as old almost as the first settlement of Christianity among us, and, amidst all our other revolutions, continued to be held till the time of King Henry the Eighth. . . . The archbishop called together, first the bishops, afterwards the other prelates of their provinces; and by degrees added to these such of their inferior clergy, as they thought needful. In these assemblies of the clergy, only the spiritual affairs of the Church were wont for a long time to be transacted. . . . When the papal authority had prevailed here, another and yet larger sort of councils" (in distinction from the Archi-episcopal Convocations), "were introduced among us, of the bishops and prelates of the whole realm. These were properly national Church councils. But besides these Synods, two other assemblies there were, of the clergy of this realm, peculiar to our own state and country, in which the clergy were convened, not for the spiritual affairs of the Church, but for the good and benefit of the realm, and to act as members of the one as well as of the other. . . . Hence our bishops first, and then *some of our other* prelates, as abbots and friars,

were very early brought into the great councils of the realm, or Parliament; and there consulted and acted together with the laity. Thus were the greater clergy first brought into our state councils, and made a constant and established part of them. Our Saxon ancestors subjected the lands of the clergy to the three-fold necessity of castles, bridges, and expeditions. And the granting of aids in these cases, brought on assemblies of the clergy, which were afterwards distinguished by the name of *Convocation*. . . . William the conqueror turned the frankalmoigne tenures of the bishops, and some of the great abbots, into baronies; and from thence forward they were obliged to send persons to the wars, and to attend in parliament, which was complained of as a burthen. Edward I. fixed upon an establishment" (of Church and State) "which hath, in some sort, continued ever since. He designed to have the clergy as a third estate, and as the bishop was to sit, *per baroniam*, in the temporal parliament, so they were to sit with the inferior clergy in Convocation. And the design of the king was, that, as the two temporal estates charged the temporalities, and made laws to bind all temporal things within this realm; so this other body should have given taxes to charge the spiritual possessions, and have made canons to bind the ecclesiastical body. Edward I. projected to have made the clergy one third estate dependent on himself, and therefore not only called the bishops," (into parliament), "whom as barons he had a right to summon, but the rest of the clergy," (by representation), "that

he might have their consent to the taxes and assessments made on that body. Though the inferior clergy, by this new scheme of Edward I., were let into the power of making canons, yet they foresaw they were to be taxed, and therefore joined with the bishops, in opposing what they thought an innovation. But the king, and the temporal estate were beforehand with them, and the clergy were all outlawed, and their possessions seized into the king's hands. Then they consented to meet. And to take away all pretence, there was a summons, besides the *præmunientes* clause to the archbishop, that he should summon the bishops, deans, archdeacons, colleges, and the whole clergy of his province. From hence, therefore, the bishops, deans, archdeacons, colleges, and clergy, met by virtue of the archbishop's summons, which, being an ecclesiastical authority, they could not object to. And so the bishops and clergy came to Convocation by the virtue of the archbishop's summons." Here we have the more modern, and in substance, the present Convocation of the Church of England.

"So" (by this scheme of Edward I.) "the clergy were doubly summoned: first, by the bishop, to attend the parliament, and secondly, by the archbishop, to appear in Convocation. They sometimes met on the archbishop's summons, without the king's writ. The king gratified the archbishops, by suffering this new body of Convocation to be formed in the nature of a parliament. They made canons by which each respective province was bound, and give aid and taxes to the king. . .

But though they thus sat as a parliament, and made laws for the Church, yet they did not make a part of the parliament properly so called. Sometimes, indeed, the lords, and sometimes the commons, were wont to send to the Convocation for some of their body to give them advice in spiritual matters. But that was only by way of advice. For the Parliament have always insisted that their laws bound the clergy. So in the Saxon times, if the subject of any laws was for the outward peace and temporal government of the Church, such laws were properly ordained by the king and his great council of clergy and laity intermixed, as our acts of parliament are still made. But if there were any doctrine to be tried, or any exercise of pure discipline to be reformed, then the clergy of the great council departed into a separate Synod, and there acted as the proper judges. Only when they had thus provided for the state of religion, they brought their canons from the Synod to the great council, to be ratified by the king, with the advice of his great men, and so made the constitutions of the Church to be laws of the realm. Thus the case stood, when the act of submission was made to Henry the Eighth."

The statute of submission to King Henry, so far as we can observe, has been the governing law of Convocation ever since ; the amount of which is, that Convocation can do nothing without the consent and sanction of the sovereign.*

* This act is summarily stated in a petition of Convocation to the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the reign of Edward the Sixth, as follows :—

“And, therefore, by this act,” says Burn, “the clergy being restrained from making any canons or constitutions, without the king’s license, the power, as to this particular, which was before lodged in the hands of the Metropolitan, is now put into the hands of the king, who, having by authority of his writ, commanded the archbishop to summon them for state purposes, as the tenor of his writ shows, has it now in his own breast, whether he will let them act at all as a Church Synod or no. They are a Convocation, by the writ of summons ; but a council, properly speaking, they are not, nor can they legally act as such, till they have obtained the king’s license so to do.” In other words, the Convocation has been reduced to a cipher by lay power, till it shall be brought into action by lay counsels ; and then only so far as lay power shall permit, and lay counsels order.

“And whereas, in a statute ordained and established by authority of parliament at Westminster, in the 25th year of the reign of the most excellent prince, King Henry VIII., the clergy of this realm, submitting themselves to the King’s highness, did acknowledge and confess, according to the truth, that the Convocations of the same clergy have been and ought to be assembled, by the King’s writ, and did promise further, *in verbo sacerdotii*, that they never from thenceforth would presume to attempt, allege, claim, or put in use, or enact, promulge, or execute, any new canons, constitutions, ordinances, provincial or other, or by whatsoever other name they shall be called in the Convocation, unless the king’s most royal assent and license may to them be had to make, promulge, and execute the same. And his majesty to give his most royal assent and authority in that behalf, upon pain of every one of the clergy doing the contrary, and being thereof convicted, to suffer imprisonment, and make fine at the King’s will.”—*Burnet’s Records of the Reformation.*

"In 1717, the Convocation was prorogued, and has never since sat for the transaction of any business." Dr. Burn represents Mr. Burke as saying, that "Convocation is called for form only. It sits for the purpose of making some polite ecclesiastical compliments to the king, and when that grace is said, retires, and is heard of no more. *It is, however, a part of the constitution, and may be called out into act and energy, whenever there is occasion*; and," Mr. Burke adds, not very respectfully, "whenever those who conjure up that spirit, will choose to abide the consequence."

Bishop Burnet speaks of Convocation as "a matter perplexed and dark," referring, apparently, to its ancient composition, relations, and functions. This perplexity and darkness, however, are much cleared away by the above citations from Burn's Ecclesiastical law. According to Bishop Burnet, one of the petitions of Convocation, to Edward VI., was "that no acts concerning matters of religion might pass, without the sight and assent of the clergy;" which, we think, may be set down as a general principle, in the history of that body. It is also stated by Bishop Burnet, as a prevalent opinion, "that the whole Parliament sat together in one house, before Edward the Third's time, and that the clergy were a part of that body without question. But when the Lords and Commons sat apart, the clergy likewise sat in two houses" (of Convocation).

It will be observed, that there was no lay element in the Convocation. It was purely a clerical body. But the balance laical power was vested in Parlia-

ment, all the members of which were in fact or theory, we suppose in both, members of the Church. The functions of Parliament in government and legislation for the Church, were in fact those of a lay synod, though not so denominated. The principle, however, on which they acted in this capacity, in conjunction with Convocation, is evident. It was the natural and appropriate function of Convocation to originate and propose to Parliament all matters appertaining to the Church. These measures, of course, before they could have the force of law, must pass through Parliament, or obtain the sanction of the sovereign. Such, in substance, was the original constitution of Church and State in England. The King, Parliament, and Convocation, in all acts of government and legislation for the Church, were parts of the same synod. In all such measures, they acted conjointly, as members of the Church, for the Church. Convocation, when in full and regular action, generally held its sessions at the same time with Parliament, that both bodies might act together, as occasion might require, and both were convened and acted, as seen above, under royal authority.*

* The position which the clergy of the Church of England formerly considered themselves entitled to occupy, in all legislation appertaining to the Church, will appear in the following extract from a petition of the lower house of Convocation to the Archbishop of Canterbury, in Edward the Sixth's reign:

"The clergy, in this present Convocation assembled, have made humble suit unto the most reverend father in God, my lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and all the other bishops, that it may please them to be a mean to the king's majesty, and lord protector's grace, that the said clergy, according to the tenor of the

But times and customs have changed. The Convocation is still a nominal part of the Constitution of the British empire, and is as regularly called together at the opening of every new Parliament, as is Parliament itself. But there the commission of Convocation ends. After meeting, they are prorogued by the same authority, through the Archbishop, without being permitted to proceed to business. In 1852, however, for the first time since 1717, they have been permitted to sit on their own adjournments, and are in session at the time we are now writing. Since 1717, Convocation has done nothing in the way of government and legislation for the Church, but all this duty has devolved upon, or been assumed by, Parliament and the Crown. In other words, as will be seen, the government of the Church of England, for nearly a century and a half, has been entirely in the hands of the laity, excepting only the administrative functions of the bishops. The bishops are all appointed by the Crown, and the right formerly enjoyed by the existing Episcopate, to confirm such appointments, or the right of voice formerly allowed

king's writ, and the ancient laws and customs of this noble realm, might leave them room and place, and be associated with the Commons in the nether house of this present Parliament, as members of the commonwealth, and the king's most humble subjects. And if this may not be permitted and granted unto them, that then no statutes or laws concerning the Christian religion, or which shall concern especially the persons, possessions, rooms, livings, jurisdiction, goods, or chattels of the said clergy, may pass nor be enacted, the said clergy not being made party thereunto, and their answers and reasons not heard."—*Burnet's History of the Reformation, Records.*

to the bishops, as to who shall be their associates in the Episcopate, has fallen into abeyance, and is no longer realized. So long as the Episcopate is not vitiated as an Apostolic institution, trials of this and other kinds are no new things, and may providentially be overruled for good.

In view of these very grave facts, a portion of the bishops and clergy of the Church of England have, to a great extent, and within a few years, been roused to a sense of their true position, and are employing their best exertions and influence to recover the active powers of Convocation. There is, however, a want of harmony in this movement among the clergy, inasmuch as it is alleged to have originated with a minor, and in some respects, an obnoxious party. The argument for the revival of Convocation, is, however, on the side of the prime movers, as it is easy to demonstrate the false position of the Church, in its present relation to the State, having no power to act as a Church, except in her administrative functions. The platform of her ancient canons is worth something. But who could look on a Church, and such a Church, running on for a century and a half, without a single item of legislation originating in herself, and not be sensible of the amazing defect ! Not a single age can transpire, without great exigencies for Church legislation on Church polity. In contrast with the history of the Church of England, in this particular, see what a fabric has arisen in the American Episcopal Church, within the last half century ? What a fabric of Church polity ; what an *Episcopate*, rising and advancing, while the mother

Church of England stands still ! While the Episcopate of England proper remains nearly the same, in number, as it was a hundred years ago, that of the American Church has arisen from nothing, and shot ahead of her in fifty years !

Besides the false position of the Church of England, in having been so long deprived of an internal and self-government, the parliament of England has also found itself in a false position in legislating for the Church, and has so far appreciated it, as not to presume to enact ecclesiastical canons. Hence the necessity to which the Church has been so long doomed, of carrying on her administrative functions, without new canons, and without any modification of her old ones, in adaptation to "the various exigencies of times and occasions," which have been many, great, and some even of a momentous character. Her legislative power has been crippled, broken down, by the civil power, and to this day lies in abeyance. She can do nothing in a synodical capacity, without a royal license, and that has been withheld since 1717. It is still true, as in the time of Bishop Burnet, when he said : "The government of the Church is not yet brought into the hands of Churchmen." (*Part II., Book III.*)

Something, possibly, might be gained, in the restoration of the powers of Convocation ; but the Church could not be brought back to the position she occupied before they were taken away. That is impossible, first, because she could not hope to be again endowed with the same co-ordinate powers, or with the initiative in matters appertaining to Church

polity. If we rightly understand the position of the Church of England, in Convocation, she was once not only co-ordinate with parliament, in all measures touching her own interests, but she had the privilege of the initiative, it being supposed and admitted, that she only was qualified for that function. How could parliament so well understand the wants of the Church, as the Church herself? Next, it would be impossible to recover the ground lost by such a long non-user of the powers of Convocation. Thirdly, the changes through which both Church and State have passed during this period, have given a new, and greatly different character to each, so much so, that the former relative position of the two parties would now be utterly impracticable. With changes of time, have been brought about changes of views on all sides, in regard to this relation of Church and State. And, lastly, parliament is now not only composed of many new elements, making such a relation somewhat incongruous; but some new principles, of a radical and fundamental character, have been admitted into its organization, which would render such a co-operation of Convocation and parliament, if not impossible, at least extremely difficult. If, therefore, the functions of Convocation are to be restored in any form or manner, some great effort of statesmanship would seem to be required, to erect and adjust a new platform, or, in many particulars, a new plan.

We find the Church of England, then, in this perfectly anomalous position, allied to the State, without any powers inherent in herself, except the administrative functions of the Episcopate, and those func-

tions essentially crippled and embarrassed by the operation of the civil power. She is in a state of captivity. She cannot extend the Episcopate, according to the wants of the Church. The bishops have no voice, as formerly, in the confirmation of their associates in office, but are forced to receive those appointed by the crown. The ancient canons are so defective, as to be now incapable of answering the purposes of discipline, and there is no recognized power to make new ones, or to modify the old. The Church is not permitted to do it, and Parliament will not act on so delicate a subject, because it is conscious of the impropriety of engaging in such a work; and between prohibition on the one hand, and delinquency on the other, this most important duty has entirely failed to be performed ever since 1717.*

Nevertheless, under all these disadvantages, and

* There has been, however, one important exception, in 1840, to this neglect of Parliament. "It was then provided by an elaborate act, that, in the case of any clerk (clergyman) who may be charged with any offence against the ecclesiastical laws of the realm, or concerning whom there may exist scandal or evil report, as having offended against the said laws, it shall be lawful for the Bishop of the Diocese within which the offence is alleged or reported to have been committed, on the application of any party complaining thereof, or if he shall see fit, on his own mere motion, to issue a commission to five persons to make inquiry as to the grounds of such a charge or report."—*Hoffman on the Law of the Church*, p. 400. This act, may possibly, answer most, if not all the purposes of discipline over the clergy, now required, unless, peradventure, it shall remain in a state of *non user* by the bishops and clergy, because it does not come from the right quarter, as a canon of the Church. It certainly takes away a part of their argument for the restoration of the active powers of Convocation.

for the very reason of them, the Church of England has acquitted herself in a manner, that will enforce respect, if not admiration. We live in what may, in some sense, be called a religious age. The leaven of Christianity pervades Christendom—a very proper thing, indeed. But we mean something more than a truism. Among Protestant nations, Christianity has become more vital and more active within the last half century. They who pretend to religion have been obliged, by the force of opinion, to do something; and we may gratefully ascribe much of what has been done to genuine Christian zeal. Under all the disadvantages of the Church of England, as above set forth, she has achieved great things, within an age now past. Not to speak of the extension of the Church over the colonial portions of the British empire, which has been on a grand scale, and with signal success, there has been a revival of a marked vitality and efficiency in her domestic operations. It is stated in the address of Convocation to the Queen, as made in November, 1852, that more churches are now built in England, in one year, for the increased wants of the people, than in the whole of the last century. This multiplication of churches has been going on for many years, and is still in progress, with increasing demands for Church room; and it is an interesting feature, that much of this is accomplished by the munificence of private individuals. There has been a simultaneous growth, chiefly the cause of these results, of the zeal and efficient action of the bishops and clergy. They have, at least in a measure, kept pace with the spirit of the age, as well for

internal reform, as for the enlargement of the Church. One of the chief objects alleged, in soliciting of the crown a restoration of the powers of Convocation, is the revival of discipline.

Probably, however, the attempt now making, by a portion of the bishops and clergy, to re-establish Convocation, will not be successful ; certainly not in its ancient forms, with its former powers, in its former relation to Parliament. The time for that has gone by. The great majority of the clergy, if not of the bishops, are opposed to it ; and the laity are opposed. Parliament would seem to be jealous of this movement ; and from the tone of the address of the recent Convocation to the Queen, one would think, that little favour was expected from the Ministry of the Crown.

There are, however, some auspicious indications of good for the Church of England, arising, perhaps, from an unexpected quarter. The British government has been educated in the Church ; it has ever been regarded as a part of the Church, and is so by the constitution of the empire. For a long period, more especially of late years, there has been manifested by the government an apparent conscientiousness in the discharge of its high duties, as imposed by the constitution, towards the Church. The appointment of bishops and archbishops has apparently been judicious, and all other functions of government in Church affairs, seem now to be discharged with a view to make the Church most efficient in promoting the cause of religion and Christianity at home and abroad. We are not aware, that any im-

peachment of the fidelity of the British government, in this respect, would fairly lie. It would seem, as if the revival of Christian piety and zeal in the Church of England, of late years, may, in no small degree, be attributable to this influence of government, directly and indirectly. If this be so, it is certainly a very remarkable fact, or group of facts, which may suggest a reminiscence of the prophecy, when "kings shall become nursing fathers, and queens nursing mothers" of the Church.

The Church of England, confessedly, has had her faults, as well as her difficulties. We have seen how completely she has fallen into the hands of the civil power, by the long and continued suspension of the functions of Convocation; and there is little probability, that those functions will ever be restored. It would seem to be morally impossible. The action of the recent Convocation betrays a consciousness of this difficulty, and reveals their almost hopeless position. Where, then, lies the hope of the Church of England? She is lost, apparently, unless the government saves her (shall we say from herself?) It is certainly in the power of the government to do this, and they seem to be intent on that great work. The Church of England has greatly prospered under this regime, and is still going on to prosper. Never since the Reformation has she done so well. And it is a remarkable phenomenon, that it is purely a laical regime. Nevertheless, Episcopacy is recognized, and allowed to exercise the full scope of Episcopal prerogatives. It is principally, though not exclusively, *the secular interests* of the Church, that are assumed

and managed by the State. If this part of the economy of the Church of England is to stand and prevail, under the ordering of the civil power, it will doubtless be found expedient, after due deliberation, to revive the action of Convocation, so far at least, as to give to the Church suitable disciplinary canons. A Church can never do justice to itself, or fulfil all its duties, it is even liable to break into fragments, without a general synod; and the Church of England now has none, except in a Convocation of defunct or suspended powers; and Convocation, as will be seen, is rather a council, than a synod. Independent of the joint action of the government, as a lay body, it is not a synod. That, too, as must be acknowledged, is far from being normal.

If Convocation is to be revived for Church purposes only, the important consideration of bringing in the lay element will probably have to be discussed. There can never be a proper Church synod without that element. The action and purposes of a council, in Protestant Churches certainly, and we believe every where, are never of the same character with those of a synod, and cannot have the same effect. So far as the Convocation of the Church of England has been synodical in its character, it has always been on the theory, that Parliament and the Sovereign were a part of it. These latter constituted the lay element. But the action of Convocation as a council has never been allowed, by the laws of England, to have force outside of the clerical pale.*

* "Lord Coke says, 'a Convocation may make constitutions, by which those of the spirituality shall be bound; for this, they all,

If, therefore, the revival of Convocation is not to be associated with Parliament, as formerly, it will be of little service, apparently, without the lay element; and so long as the bishops and clergy are disposed to dispense with that element, it is natural that they should find the laity opposed, as now. What can the Church of England do without the laity? It was, as we suppose, on this principle, that the Rev. W. A. Coxe, a member of the lower house of the Convocation of 1852, offered the following amendment to the address to the Queen: "That, while we respectfully express our conviction, that the legislative assemblies of Convocation are an important part of the constitution of our Church, we believe that a resumption of their active functions, as at present constituted, *without lay co-operation*, will be at once inconvenient, and open to just suspicions." It seems, however, by the vote on this amendment, that Convocation was not prepared to entertain the principle of admitting the lay element into the composition of the body. In one of the English Quarterlies, the Christian Remembrancer, for October, 1852, an earnest advocate for the revival of Convocation, we find the following very decided expression on this question:

either by representation, or in person, are present; but not the temporality.' In the primitive Church, the laity were present at all synods. When the Roman empire became Christian, no canon was made without the Emperor's consent. If the king and clergy make a canon, it binds the clergy in *re ecclesiastica*, but it doth not bind laymen. The canons of Convocation do not bind the laity, without an act of Parliament. It was determined by the unanimous resolution of the Court of King's Bench, that such canons do not bind the laity."—*Burn's Ecclesiastical Law*.

"Let the Church keep what she has got, and hold it fast, before we make such questions, *as the admission of the laity*, any very prominent part of the subject." They can doubtless remain, as they now are, under the lay power of Parliament and the Crown, and do nothing as a Convocation; and it may, perhaps, be best. We have seen, that for the present, it works well.

In the representation of the lower house of the recent Convocation, to the Archbishop, there is an admission of the importance of the influence of the lay element, but it looks for it to Parliament and the Queen: "They," the lower house of Convocation, "earnestly pray, that they may be permitted to consider what changes are needed, in order that it" (the Convocation) "may be reconstructed, as a body fitted to represent and legislate in practical matters, *in concert with the civil legislature*, for the Church of England, as spread through the United Kingdom, and through all our colonies; *so that, under God's blessing, the manifold gifts bestowed on the lay members of the Church, as well as on the ecclesiastical, may work together harmoniously, for the building up of the whole body, and for the strengthening and extending of the Kingdom of God.*"

Rev. Dr. Jelf, of the lower House, said: "The Queen was constitutionally part of the Convocation, representing, in fact, the lay element." Dr. Wilkins, Archdeacon of Nottingham, said: "Nothing could be done without the license of the Queen, or indeed, without the license of the laity, as expressed through Parliament." From all this we gather, that

the importance of the lay element, to act with and upon the Convocation, is universally recognized. The only question is, as to the relation which that element shall sustain to Convocation, whether it shall, by a reconstruction of the body, be a component part of itself, or remain, as heretofore, in Parliament and the sovereign. There are many reasons for the conclusion, that the latter mode cannot be realized, except in the perpetual suspension of the active powers of Convocation. Consequently, the only practicable mode would seem to be the admission of the lay element as a component part of the body.

How far the jealousy of the House of Commons towards Convocation is indicated by the following interrogatory and answer, which occurred on the 15th of November, 1852, the fourth day after the opening of Convocation, we cannot say. It shows, at least, that the House of Commons have an eye on all the doings of Convocation. "Mr. J. A. Smith asked the Secretary for the Home department, whether it was intended, that Convocation should continue to sit, or be prorogued as usual? Mr. Walpole" (the secretary) "stated, that the usual course would be observed, and this was intended from the beginning." (*London Times*.) This would seem to be small encouragement for the object prayed for in the Address of Convocation to the Queen.

The following remarks of the Bishop of Exeter, in the recent Convocation, are somewhat remarkable:—
 "I rejoice to think how much, how very much, by *God's grace*, has been gained to the life, the serious-

ness, the efficiency of our Church. I rejoice to think, how much more like a Church it is, in many respects, than it was thirty years ago. Do not let me be supposed, however, to look without dismay to much of what has happened in the course of the last thirty years, but especially in the course of the last ten. My lords, I have seen a large defection from the Church, of men, not all of whom have been led lightly to take the step they have done. We can see some of the causes. An eagerness after some of the claims of the hierarchy of Rome, may have misled a portion of these men. Others may have been misled by a desire to imitate the excessive ritual of that Church. There are some who may have longed for more power themselves, as presbyters, than our Church gives them. But, my lords, I know of more than one—I know of those whom I have honoured—that they have gone because of what they take to be the miserable thralldom of the Church to the State of this land. I know there are many in this Church, who, if the time should ever come, that the Church should declare itself incompetent to its essential duties and to its vital action, will leave it. I, for one, will leave this Church, if that time should ever come. I will not go to Rome. Nothing could induce me to go to that corrupted Church. But never, never, never will I act as a bishop of the Church of England, whenever she is thoroughly placed under the feet of the temporal power." (*London Times*.)

The first part of these remarks is a very distinct and grateful recognition of the great good that has been accomplished, within the last thirty years, by

the active and efficient supervision of the temporal power over the Church, as before noticed. This great change for the better could not be denied by the Bishop of Exeter, though, possibly, he might be reluctant to acknowledge the cause, as it would, perhaps, militate against his purpose. The latter part of his remarks will naturally suggest the result of the case of the Rev. Mr. Gorham, before the Court of Appeals, who was rescued by that tribunal from the disciplinary power of the Bishop of Exeter, who had undertaken to eject him from his living, and drive him out of the diocese, because he could not conscientiously subscribe to the bishop's views of the doctrine of baptismal regeneration. If the object of restoring the legislative powers of Convocation, were only or chiefly to render effective Episcopal acts of this kind, it would, perhaps, be as well for the Queen to withhold her royal license yet longer. But we suppose the objects of the petition of Convocation are much more comprehensive.*

* Since this chapter was written, we have received intelligence of the prorogation of Convocation in February, to which it stood adjourned from November, without any material change of its position in relation to the Government. The London Times, the day after the prorogation, among other strictures, remarks:—"It is impossible to deny, that Convocation has met, and has discussed divers weighty questions of Church government in a manner which shows that its intention of asserting and exercising a still greater authority in future, must be viewed by the statesmen who may govern this country with greater seriousness than the subject has of late attracted among the laity. . . . The indefinite powers of their own body formed the sole topic of discussion. That was precisely the whole history of Convocation, for the last twenty years (previous to 1717) of its active existence. . . . We are persuaded, that the time is not

On the whole, it would seem to be clear, that lay power in the British Government has obtained the lead in its influence and controul over the affairs of the Church, and it seems to be doing well. At least five to one of the clergy,* and all, or nearly all, of the laity, are in favour of this regime. It would, indeed, seem to be a subject of regret, that the Church of England cannot govern herself, nor recover the power of self-government. That chance, possibly, might be open to her, as to all spiritual matters, and as to internal discipline and order, if she were prepared to accept from the government a proper synodical organization, by an admission of the lay element. Till that time there would seem to be little chance. Till that time, apparently, she must fain be content to be governed exclusively by lay power, as she is now, and part with the Bishop of Exeter. She may rejoice and thank God for one thing, that the administrative functions of her Episcopate are recognized, sustained, and working better and better

very distant when, if these claims are put forward by the Church, they will have to be limited by her Majesty's undoubted prerogative, or defined by the legislative authority of Parliament, which is alone supreme in this realm."

* Out of some ten thousand clergy in the province of Canterbury, only seventeen hundred and fifty voted for Proctors to represent them in the late Convocation, a considerable fraction of whom voted for candidates opposed to the revival of Convocation, and in some cases elected their nominees. It is supposed, that all in favour of the revival of Convocation, were present at the elections. If so, the proportion of clergy opposed to the revival of Convocation functions, must be some seven or eight to one.

as time rolls on. It will be better yet, and a higher ground of gratulation, if the end shall be, that the Queen shall have proved a "nursing mother" of the Church.

The present position of the Church of England presents a rare spectacle. It is, indeed, a perfect novelty in the history of the Church universal. As, however, she has done so well, in an age now past, there is great hope of good for the future. We shall yet have occasion to see, that the position of the American Episcopal Church, is not only exempt from all the embarrassments of the Church of England, by her connexion with the State, but that the prospects of the American Church are comparatively, and most encouragingly auspicious. While we sympathise with all the trials of our mother Church, and pray for her rescue, for her prosperity, and for her outward march of usefulness in promoting the cause of our common Lord and Redeemer, we may thank God who so ordered, that our very beginning should have been a rescue from all these embarrassments, and that it should constitute the epoch of a mission, the vast field, and great responsibilities of which we shall hereafter have occasion to notice.

It will be seen, therefore, that the genius of the Church of England has been greatly modified, in the progress of time, since its severance from the Church of Rome, under Henry VIII. That separation, as may reasonably be supposed, from the fact that it originated in the domestic difficulties of the king, did not materially affect the character of the Church as *a spiritual body*, at the time. It was a mere transfer

of allegiance from the Pope of Rome to the king of England. The spirit of Protestantism, however, as we have seen in the preceding chapter, had previously and extensively taken root in England, and in the English Church. Although the motive of the king, in casting off allegiance to the Pope, for himself, for the Church, and for his realm, was doubtless a personal one; nevertheless, in doing that, he took up his position as a Protestant prince, in relation to the Pope, to Europe, and the world; in doing that, he became, unwittingly, it may be, the patron of Protestantism, at home and abroad; and in doing that, he gave full scope to the predisposition of the Church of England, and of all the people of England, towards Protestantism. It was in fact, a substantial revolution, in Church and State, against popery, and in favour of the Protestant cause, as the result showed. The subsequent brief reign of Mary, and the restoration of papal authority, under her, only proved, that Protestantism had touched the heart of England, and was in the heart of the English Church. Indeed, Mary's reign of five years was the grand *auto de fê* of Protestant England.

The Church of England ever has been, and still is, a part of the fabric of the State, and consequently her genius must be, necessarily and very materially, affected by that relation. Her prelates are appointed by the Sovereign, are *ex-officio* peers of the realm, and members of the legislative faculty of the empire. They sit side by side with the secular lords, in the upper house of Parliament; or rather occupy a superior bench by themselves, in compliment to their

spiritual character, at the same time that they preside over the Church in their respective dioceses. They appear in the House of Lords in their Episcopal robes, not only to denote their position as ecclesiastics, but apparently to show, that in that place they have not laid aside their prelatical functions, but are supposed to be there to watch over the interests of the Church. Their position in Parliament entitles them to take part in the entire legislation for the British dominions, and a respectful deference is always paid to their discharge of these duties. The overseers of the Church, therefore, are overseers of the State, to the extent of their personal and official influence, as members of the national legislature—not, however, in derogation of their commission from heaven, but to see that the interests of the spiritual commonwealth committed to their charge, receive no damage, and to promote those interests. The sovereign of England is the head of the Church—an apparent incongruity—he being a temporal prince; but this fact is based on the principle, that the Church being a part of the state, the sovereign should be at the head; and the theory is, that the sovereign is no farther head of the Church, than as the Church is a part of the empire; all administrative functions of the Church proper being left to the Church. This line of demarcation between the duties of the sovereign and the appropriate functions of the prelates, is seldom violated by aggression from one side or the other; and it is claimed by the bishops, both in theory and practice, that, as successors of the *Apostles*, and in the use of their spiritual prerogatives,

they have no head but Christ. Bishop Gibson says : " When the laws say, that all ecclesiastical authority is in the crown, and derived from thence, or use any expressions of like import, it is to be remembered, that the principal intent of all such laws and expressions, was to exclude the temporal power of the Pope." This, as will be seen, is a natural intrepertation of these pretensions ; and it is one of high authority. Bishop Short, in his history of the Church of England, (§ 201,) says : " The ministers of God's word must derive from him such authority as shall enable them to carry on a Christian Church, independent of the civil magistrate. . . . The right of ordination, for instance, must belong to the Church independent of the civil power ; but a Christian government may still assign limits to the exercise of it. . . . The law cannot say, that the person so ordained shall not be a priest ; but that he shall not hold Church preferment ; and at the same time it may punish the bishop for breaking the law of the land." These remarks of course apply to a Church established or patronised by the State.

The duty of bishops, as legislators in the state, is, as we think, manifestly outside of their Episcopal functions, and is so regarded, to a great extent, in England. The only apparent vindication is, that the Church, in its frame work, has been incorporated, from time immemorial, in the political commonwealth, and that so long as it is so, the bishops should be where they can take care of it.

The Protestantism of the parliament and government of Great Britain, is chiefly a political element,

and relates to the Pope's claims, as sovereign pontiff over all kingdoms and nations ; more especially as the Pope once had dominion in England, and is only deprived of it by force. The Pope is still prince in the affections of a majority of the people of Ireland, has a footing in England, and appears to be gaining ground there. All know his recent attempts to extend his hierarchy in England, in forms which had been suffered to go into desuetude, and to spread over the kingdom fresh and absorbing claims, which have produced great excitement. Protestantism, therefore, in England, is more vigorous and active now, as a political element, than for a long time previous. As a religious feeling, too, it has revived, in a like proportion, though it was not wanting in vitality before. The Church and people of England are profoundly sensitive on this great subject, and in no other nation are there more vital and potent reasons for it, religious and political.

If, therefore, we would understand the genius of the Church of England, we must consider her history as a State religion for so long a period, and her antagonistic position in relation to the claims of the Church of Rome. Her Protestantism has purified and elevated her character immensely, and for centuries she has been gradually growing more fit for the field she occupies, and more useful in it. There is not, perhaps, a Church in the world, which, during the same or an equal period, has improved so much in her general economy, in spiritual vigour, and in efficiency. She came out from the Church of Rome, *under Henry VIII.*, as a fragment of that body, with

a redeeming leaven of Protestantism in her bosom. During the subsequent brief interval of papal power in England, under Mary, the martyr blood of her prelates and laymen was freely poured out for the Protestant faith. The universities of England have for ages sent forth the most accomplished men of all history, to adorn, instruct, and edify the Church, and to leave a vast body of literature behind them, in the various walks of Christian learning, which can never be excelled, and which will constitute standards of good taste and Christian piety, while taste and piety are held precious in the earth. Wherever the British sway has extended its empire, the Church of England has carried the Gospel. It is now one hundred and fifty years since "the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign parts," was organised, and it has planted the Church in almost all parts of the world, of which the American branch is a notable scion. The zeal of the Church of England for promoting the interests of a true Christianity, at home and abroad, and her means and moral power for this object, are constantly being augmented. In the Protestant ranks of Christendom, she has ever maintained a leading position, kept firm in the faith by the Bible and her Prayer Book, marching straight onward without wavering or defection, till she exhibits the front, bearing, and discipline of a Christian host, of no uncertain promise for enacting a prominent part in evangelizing the world.

It will be found in all countries where Christianity has been introduced, that the polities of the Churches planted have, for the most part, been organized and

shaped, in adaptation to the institutions and genius of the people, who are to be acted upon by them, and that they naturally acquire that form. Even the Church of Rome, with all her tenacity for uniform modes, pays great respect to this principle, in the missions of the Jesuits. It cannot, indeed, be disregarded, in the use of the best discretion. So the polity of the Church of England has grown out of the institutions of the country, and is necessarily adapted to the genius of the people. As the latter has changed, the former, at least in its practical operation, has been accommodated to it. Such modifications are always slow, but as unavoidable as they are expedient. The Church of England is not the same thing now that she was three centuries, two centuries, or one century, or even fifty years ago ; and what is pleasant to observe, she has been constantly improving. She has wisely adapted herself to the times, in the practical operation of her machinery. Whether her present polity, as a State establishment, with her present mode of working upon it, is the best possible for her present position, may, perhaps, safely be left with the judgment and conscience of those who have charge of it, and who are responsible for the use of it.

CHAPTER VII.

THE GENIUS OF THE AMERICAN EPISCOPAL CHURCH, AS SHOWN IN THE HISTORY OF HER ORGANIZATION.

WE now come to the main purpose of this work. What we have said in the preceding chapters, was naturally introductory or preparatory to our main design. It seemed fit and appropriate, before entertaining on the principal theme, to say something of the genius of Christianity, of that of the Primitive Church, of the Church of Rome, of the Reformation, and of the Church of England. Indeed, if the limits of the work had permitted, we might, with propriety and profit, have included the consideration of the genius of many other distinct portions of Christendom, in different ages ; but that could not well have been done, and leave such space as we have need to occupy in the consideration of the GENIUS and MISSION of the American Episcopal Church.

The American Episcopal Church is the daughter of the Church of England. She was planted, and during our colonial history, was nurtured by the Church of England, chiefly through the instrumentality of "the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign parts."

The neglect of the mother Church, however, to establish an American Episcopate, during the long period of nearly two centuries, is acknowledged on

all hands to have been a great fault, and to the American Church a great injustice and misfortune. It presented the anomaly of a Church, or of a large field of the Church, without a bishop. It is true the Bishop of London was allowed to claim and exercise this care, though the provisions of law were somewhat defective. Nevertheless, a bishop's administration in his proper Episcopal character, cannot be defective for lack of a civil sanction, nor can its spiritual validity and force be augmented by such authority, except incidentally and morally for civil purposes, as is the intended effect of the connexion of the Church of England with the State. Consequently, as the clergy of the American Church or branch, all acted under Episcopal orders and authority, there can be no ground of uneasiness as to their ecclesiastical position. They were properly missionaries of the Church. The American Revolution came, and the American Church was in a still more distressed and orphan-like condition for want of an Episcopate.

After the peace of 1783, however, measures were revived for obtaining American Bishops. There were political objections on both sides, in obtaining the Episcopate from the English Church, on account of the recent war of independence. Americans were jealous, and the English were afraid of offending. There was also an insuperable bar in the laws of England, which required of the English bishops the exaction of the oath of allegiance to the Crown, from all bishops consecrated by them. This law, however, *was afterwards* dispensed with, by a special act of

Parliament, for the purpose of consecrating American Bishops—a favour that ought ever to be highly appreciated—as the American Episcopate was then obtained from Episcopal authority alone as an institution of Jesus Christ, untrammelled by the State.

In 1784, the Rev. Dr. Samuel Seabury, of Connecticut, before the bar above specified to a consecration in the English Church was removed, received Episcopal orders at the hands of the bishops of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, who had no connection with the State. Although Episcopacy had been tendered to America by the Danish Church, through the American minister at London, Mr. John Adams, filial preferences naturally inclined the American Church to obtain it from the west side of the channel; and in 1787, the Rev. William White, of Pennsylvania, and the Rev. Samuel Provost, of New York, were consecrated bishops of the American Church by the two archbishops of England, assisted by the bishop of Bath and Wells, and by the bishop of Peterborough. In 1790, the Rev. J. Madison, D.D., was also consecrated in England, as bishop for Virginia, who, in 1792, united with the other American bishops in the consecration of the Rev. T. J. Claggett, D.D., as bishop for Maryland, who was the first bishop of the American Episcopal Church consecrated in America. Thus descended the American Episcopate, with no imputable blemish or defect. There are now (1858) *thirty-four* bishops of the American Church. The entire number consecrated in succession for the service of the Church, is *fifty-six*.

Let us now consider the organization of the American Episcopal Church, as an independent branch of the Church universal, and mark its GENIUS as developed in that important event. Some of the clergy of the Church of England in the Colonies, during the American Revolution, did not expose the American cause against the British crown, while others were its earnest advocates, two of whom (Virginians), went into the Revolutionary army, and rose to distinction in the service. The Rev. William White, afterwards bishop for Pennsylvania, was chosen chaplain of Congress, while in session at Philadelphia. After Independence was acknowledged, by the peace of 1783, the American Episcopal clergy evinced by their acts, in the organization of the American branch of the Episcopal Church, that true American spirit by which they were actuated. They resolved, at various voluntary conventions in succession, to organize an independent American Church, with elements in its Constitution conformable to the new position which it occupied in the Providence of God. The bishop of Oxford, England, in his "History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America," says of this exigency :— "As the political connexion of the state with England was dissolved, some measures for which no precedent existed were forced upon them ; nor would it have been easy to devise a wiser course than that which they adopted, in their want of bishops." Through the instance of Rev. Mr. White, of Philadelphia, above named, the first of these conventions was *held at Philadelphia* the 24th of May, 1784, composed

of the clergy and delegates from the vestries of the Episcopal congregations of Pennsylvania, on which occasion the following fundamental principles were adopted as a basis of future action :—

1. That the Episcopal Church is, and ought to be, independent of all foreign authority, ecclesiastical or civil.

2. That it hath, and ought to have, in common with other religious societies, full and exclusive powers to regulate the concerns of its own communion.

3. That the doctrines of the Gospel be maintained as now professed by the Church of England, and uniformity of worship continued, as near as may be, to the liturgy of the same Church.

4. That the succession of the ministry be agreeable to the usage which requireth the three orders of bishops, priests, and deacons ; that the rights and powers of the same respectively be ascertained ; and that they be exercised according to reasonable laws to be duly made.

5. That to make canons and laws, there be no other authority than that of a representative body of the clergy and laity conjointly.

6. That no powers be delegated to a general ecclesiastical government, except such as cannot conveniently be exercised by the clergy and laity in their respective congregations.

The Church of Maryland adopted similar resolutions in 1783 and in 1784. Those of 1783 were as follows :—

1. We consider it as the undoubted right of the

said Protestant Episcopal Church (of Maryland), in common with other Christian Churches under the American Revolution, to complete and preserve herself as an entire Church, agreeably to her ancient usages and professions ; and to have a full enjoyment and free exercise of those purely spiritual powers, which are essential to the being of every Church or congregation of the faithful ; and which, being derived from Christ and his Apostles, are to be maintained independent of every foreign or other jurisdiction, so far as may be consistent with the civil rights of society.

2. That ever since the Reformation, it hath been the received doctrine of the Church, of which we are members, that there be three orders of ministers in Christ's Church, bishops, priests, and deacons ; and that an Episcopal ordination and commission are necessary to the valid administration of the sacraments, and the due exercise of the ministerial functions.

3. That without calling in question the rights, modes, and forms of other Christian Churches or societies, or wishing the least contest with them on that subject, we consider and declare it to be an essential right of the said Protestant Episcopal Church to have and enjoy the continuance of the said three orders of ministers forever, so far as concerns matters purely spiritual.

4. That, as it is the right, so it will be the duty of the said Church, when duly organized, constituted and represented in a Synod or Convention of the *different* orders of her ministers and people, to revise

her liturgy, forms of prayer, and public worship, in order to adapt the same to the late Revolution, and other local circumstances of America; which, it is humbly conceived, will and may be done without any other or further departure from the venerable order and beautiful forms of worship of the Church from which we sprang, than may be found expedient in the change of our situation, from a daughter to a sister Church.

In the Maryland Convention of 1784, after approving the doings of 1783, as above, the following resolutions were adopted:—

1. That none of the orders of the clergy, whether bishops, priests, or deacons, who may be under the necessity of obtaining ordination in any foreign state, shall, at the time of their ordination, or at any time afterwards, take or subscribe any obligation of obedience, civil or canonical, to any foreign power or authority whatsoever; nor be admissible into the ministry of this Church, if such obligations have been taken for a settlement in any foreign country, without renouncing the same, by taking the oaths required by law, as a test of allegiance to this State.

2. According to what we conceive to be of true Apostolic institution, the duty and office of a bishop differ in nothing from that of other priests, except in the power of ordination and confirmation*, and in the

* It will be seen by the following words of this resolution, "According to what we *conceive*," &c., that this is a mere expressed opinion of that body, at that time. It had no subsequent effect, after the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States was orga-

right of presiding in ecclesiastical meetings or synods ; and shall accordingly be so exercised in this Church, the duty and office of priests remaining as heretofore. And if any further distinctions and regulations, in the different orders of the ministry, shall be found necessary for the good government of the Church, the same shall be made and established by the joint voice and authority of a representative body of the clergy and laity, at future ecclesiastical Synods or Conventions.

3. That the clergy shall be deemed adequate judges of the ministerial commission and authority, which is necessary to the due administration of the ordinances of religion, in their own Church ; and of the literary, moral, and religious qualifications and abilities of persons to be nominated and appointed to the different orders of the ministry ; but the approving and receiving such persons to any particular cure, duty, or parish, when so nominated, appointed, set apart, consecrated, and ordained, are in the people who are to support them, and to receive the benefit of their ministry.

nized, and after the diocese of Maryland came in. The same may be said of the whole of this resolution. As this same Convention re-adopted their second resolution of the previous year, above given, it is not to be supposed that they intended any thing by this, inconsistent with that. So also of the third resolution, it will be seen, that the Church of Maryland, being without a bishop, and not knowing when they would have one, felt the necessity of prescribing some provisional oversight; and in the latter part of it is merely asserted, what is still the universal practice of the American Episcopal Church, to wit, that every congregation shall choose their own *rector*.

4. That ecclesiastical Conventions or Synods of this Church shall consist of the clergy, and one lay delegate or representative from each vestry or parish, or a majority of the same.

Resolutions to a similar effect were passed in Massachusetts, in September, 1784, by a convention composed in like manner. They were a copy of those of Pennsylvania, with additions to the first and fifth articles, the latter of which reads as follows :—" In which body the laity ought not to exceed, or their votes be more in number than those of the clergy." The nicety of this rule proves the general purpose of the Church to have the clerical fully balanced by the lay vote.

These minor conventions, in separate States, led to a general call on all the States, for a representation of the clergy and laity, to meet in New York, October, in 1784, where delegates from eight different States were convened, and passed the following resolutions :—

1. That there should be a general Convention of the Episcopal Church in the United States of America.

2. That the Episcopal Church in each State should send deputies to the Convention, consisting of clergy and laity.

3. That associated congregations, in two or more States, may send deputies jointly.

4. That the said Church shall maintain the doctrines of the Gospel, as now held by the Church of England, and adhere to the liturgy of said Church, as far as

shall be consistent with the American Revolution, and the Constitutions of the several States.

5. That in every state where there shall be a bishop duly consecrated and settled, he shall be considered as a member of the Convention *ex officio*.

6. That the clergy and laity assembled in Convention shall deliberate in one body, but shall vote separately ; and the concurrence of both shall be necessary to give validity to every measure.

7. That the first meeting of the Convention shall be at Philadelphia, the Tuesday before the feast of St. Michael next ; to which it is hoped and earnestly desired, that the Episcopal Churches in the several States, will send their clerical and lay deputies, duly instructed and authorized to proceed on the necessary business herein proposed for their deliberation.

All these acts were of course provisional, and as the Bishop of Oxford says, "without precedent;" but as the same authority also says, "it would not have been easy to devise a wiser course." It tended to unite the American Church into one body, and resulted in that unity.

"The truth is, that a common law had sprung up in the colonies, the offspring of their necessities and position, in the same manner as the common law of England had arisen in the Saxon ages. The latter, with wonderful flexibility, had adapted itself to the mutations and the progress of successive centuries. That superadded American common law was developed in usages and statutes ; and its influence was felt in the system of the Church, as well as in the civil relations of the people. And thus, as we better

understand her character and position, we shall better appreciate the facility of her transition from the Church of England in the colonies, to the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States. No violent disruption of the sacred bond took place. The daughter glided from the mother's side, because, in the allotment of Providence, she had been led to maturity and independence."—*Hoffman on the Law of the Church*, p. 30.

In October, 1785, the General Convention of the *Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States* was organized as follows :—

"Whereas, in the course of Divine Providence, the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America is become independent of all foreign authority, civil and ecclesiastical ; and whereas, at a meeting of clerical and lay deputies of the said Church, in sundry of the said States, viz., in the States of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland, held in the city of New York, on the 6th and 7th days of October, in the year of our Lord, 1784, it was recommended to this Church in the said States represented as aforesaid, and proposed to this Church in the States not represented, that they should send deputies to a Convention to be held in the city of Philadelphia, on the Tuesday before the feast of St. Michael in this present year, in order to unite in a Constitution of ecclesiastical government, agreeable to certain fundamental principles, expressed in the said recommendation and proposal ; and whereas, in consequence of the said recommendation and

proposal, clerical and lay deputies have been duly appointed from the said Church in the States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, the said deputies being now assembled, and taking into consideration the importance of maintaining uniformity in doctrine, discipline, and worship in the said Church, do hereby determine and declare," &c.

Here follow all the acts of organization in detail, and the subject matters thereof, as done at this Convention, relating to doctrine, discipline, and general polity, in part provisional, till future Conventions should be able more conveniently to set all things in order. Among the orders of this Convention, we find the following: "On motion, resolved, that the fourth of July shall be observed by this Church forever, as a day of thanksgiving to Almighty God, for the inestimable blessings of civil and religious liberty vouchsafed to the United States of America;" together with a form of service prescribed for the occasion.

The Constitution of the Church was matured by a committee appointed by this Convention, and adopted by the Convention of 1789. It will be found in the note below.*

* CONSTITUTION

Of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, as adopted by the General Convention of 1789, and as since amended by subsequent Conventions, down to 1844:

ART. I. There shall be a General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, on the first *Wednesday* in October, in every third year, from the year of our *Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-one*, and in such place

As a further exposition of the necessary course pursued in the organization of the American Episco-

as shall be determined by the convention: and in case there shall be an epidemic disease, or any other good cause to render it necessary to alter the place fixed on for any such meeting of the convention, the Presiding Bishop shall have it in his power to appoint another convenient place (as near as may be to the place so fixed on) for the holding of such convention; and special meetings may be called at other times, in the manner hereafter to be provided for; and this church, in a majority of the dioceses which shall have adopted this Constitution, shall be represented, before they shall proceed to business; except that the representation from two dioceses shall be sufficient to adjourn: and in all business of the convention freedom of debate shall be allowed.

ART. II. The church in each diocese shall be entitled to a representation of both the clergy and the laity, which representation shall consist of one or more deputies, not exceeding four of each order, chosen by the convention of the diocese; and in all questions, when required by the clerical and lay representation from any diocese, each order shall have one vote; and the majority of suffrages by dioceses shall be conclusive in each order, provided such majority comprehend a majority of the dioceses represented in that order. The concurrence of both orders shall be necessary to constitute a vote of the convention. If the convention of any diocese should neglect or decline to appoint clerical deputies, or if they should neglect or decline to appoint lay deputies, or if any of those of either order appointed, should neglect to attend, or be prevented by sickness or any other accident, such diocese shall nevertheless be considered as duly represented by such deputy or deputies as may attend, whether lay or clerical. And if, through the neglect of the convention of any of the churches which shall have adopted, or may hereafter adopt, this Constitution, no deputies, either lay or clerical, should attend at any General Convention, the church in such diocese shall nevertheless be bound by the acts of such convention.

ART. III. The bishops of this church, when there shall be three or more, shall, whenever General Conventions are held, form a separate house, with a right to originate and propose acts for

pal Church, it may be pertinent to present here, the following extracts from the Preface of the American and English Books of Common Prayer.

the concurrence of the House of Deputies, composed of clergy and laity ; and when any proposed act shall have passed the House of Deputies, the same shall be transmitted to the House of Bishops, who shall have a negative thereupon; and all acts of the convention shall be authenticated by both houses. And in all cases, the House of Bishops shall signify to the convention their approbation or disapprobation (the latter with their reasons in writing) within three days after the proposed act shall have been reported to them for concurrence ; and in failure thereof, it shall have the operation of a law. But until there shall be three or more bishops, as aforesaid, any bishop attending a General Convention shall be a member *ex officio*, and shall vote with the clerical deputies of the diocese to which he belongs; and a bishop shall then preside.

ART. IV. The bishop or bishops in every diocese shall be chosen agreeably to such rules as shall be fixed by the convention of that diocese; and every bishop of this church shall confine the exercise of his episcopal office to his proper diocese, unless requested to ordain or confirm, or perform any other act of the episcopal office by any church destitute of a bishop.

ART. V. A Protestant Episcopal Church in any of the United States, or any Territory thereof, not now represented, may, at any time hereafter, be admitted on acceding to this Constitution: and a new diocese to be formed from one or more existing dioceses, may be admitted under the following restrictions:

No new diocese shall be formed or erected within the limits of any other diocese, nor shall any diocese be formed by the junction of two or more dioceses, or parts of dioceses, unless with the consent of the bishop and convention of each of the dioceses concerned, as well as of the General Convention.

No such new diocese shall be formed, which shall contain less than eight thousand square miles in one body, and thirty presbyters, who have been for at least one year canonically resident *within the bounds* of such new diocese, regularly settled in a *parish or congregation*, and qualified to vote for a bishop. Nor

From the Preface of the American Prayer Book, as adopted in 1789:—"When, in the course of

shall such new diocese be formed, if thereby any existing diocese shall be so reduced as to contain less than eight thousand square miles, or less than thirty presbyters, who have been residing therein, and settled and qualified as above mentioned.

In case one diocese shall be divided into two dioceses, the diocesan of the diocese divided may elect the one to which he will be attached, and shall thereupon become the diocesan thereof. And the assistant bishop, if there be one, may elect the one to which he will be attached; and if it be not the one elected by the bishop, he shall be the diocesan thereof.

Whenever the division of the diocese into two dioceses shall be ratified by the General Convention, each of the two dioceses shall be subject to the constitution and canons of the diocese so divided, except as local circumstances may prevent, until the same may be altered in either diocese by the convention thereof. And whenever a diocese shall be formed out of two or more existing dioceses, the new diocese shall be subject to the constitution and canons of that one of the said existing dioceses, to which the greater number of clergymen shall have belonged prior to the erection of such new diocese, until the same may be altered by the convention of the new diocese.

ART. VI. The mode of trying bishops shall be provided by the General Convention. The Court appointed for that purpose shall be composed of bishops only. In every diocese, the mode of trying presbyters and deacons may be instituted by the convention of the diocese. None but a bishop shall pronounce sentence of admonition, suspension, or degradation from the ministry, on any clergyman, whether bishop, presbyter, or deacon.

ART. VII. No person shall be admitted to holy orders, until he shall have been examined by the bishop, and by two presbyters, and shall have exhibited such testimonials and other requisites as the canons, in that case provided, may direct. Nor shall any person be ordained until he shall have subscribed the following declaration:

"I do believe the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be the Word of God, and to contain all things necessary

Divine Providence, these American States became independent with respect to civil government, their

to salvation; and I do solemnly engage to conform to the doctrines and worship of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States."

No person ordained by a foreign bishop shall be permitted to officiate as a minister of this church, until he shall have complied with the canon or canons in that case provided, and have also subscribed the aforesaid declaration.

ART. VIII. A book of Common Prayer, administration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the church, articles of religion, and a form and manner of making, ordaining, and consecrating bishops, priests, and deacons, when established by this or a future General Convention, shall be used in the Protestant Episcopal Church in those dioceses which shall have adopted this Constitution. No alteration or addition shall be made in the Book of Common Prayer, or other offices of the Church, or the Articles of Religion, unless the same shall be proposed in one General Convention, and by a resolve thereof made known to the convention of every diocese, and adopted at the subsequent General Convention.

ART. IX. This Constitution shall be unalterable, unless in General Convention, by the church, in a majority of the dioceses which may have adopted the same; and all alterations shall be first proposed in one General Convention, and made known to the several diocesan conventions, before they shall be finally agreed to, or ratified in the ensuing General Convention.

ART. X. Bishops for foreign countries, on due application therefrom, may be consecrated, with the approbation of the bishops of this church, or a majority of them, signified to the presiding Bishop: he thereupon taking order for the same, and they being satisfied, that the person designated for the office has been duly chosen and qualified. The order of consecration to be conformed, as nearly as may be in the judgment of the bishops, to the one used in this church. Such bishops, so consecrated, shall not be eligible to the office of diocesan or assistant bishop in any diocese in the United States, nor be entitled to a seat in the House of Bishops, nor exercise any episcopal authority in said States.

ecclesiastical independence was necessarily included ; and the different religious denominations of Christians in these States were left at full and equal liberty to model and organize their respective Churches, and forms of worship and discipline, in such manner as they might judge most convenient for their future prosperity, consistently with the Constitution and laws of their country."

Again this Preface says:—"It is a most invaluable part of that blessed liberty wherewith Christ has made us free, that in his worship different forms and usages may without offence be allowed, provided the substance of the faith be kept alive ; and that, in every Church, what cannot be clearly determined to belong to doctrine, must be referred to discipline, and therefore by common consent and authority, may be altered, abridged, enlarged, amended, or otherwise disposed of, as may seem most convenient for the edification of the people."

The Church of England has the following sentence in the preface of her Book of Common Prayer, bearing on the same point:—"The particular forms of Divine worship, and the rites and ceremonies appointed to be used therein, being things in their own nature indifferent and alterable, and so acknowledged, it is but reasonable, that, upon weighty and important considerations, according to the various exigencies of times and occasions, such changes should be made therein, as to those who are in places of authority,

The polity of the Church is composed of the above Constitution, and of her code of legislation based thereupon, as found in her *canons, down to this time.*

should, from time to time, seem either necessary or expedient."

The main points to which we desire to call attention here, as directly laid down, or necessarily implied, in the organization of the American Episcopal Church, by its provisional acts before being organized, and by its constitutional and authoritative acts afterwards, may be represented in the following propositions :—

1. The American Episcopal Church dates her existence, as a branch of the family of Christ and of the Church Catholic, from the time of her organization after the establishment of American Independence.

2. The American Episcopal Church, from the time of her organization, was and is, absolutely, entirely, and forever independent of all other Churches in Christendom, and as such is responsible only to the Divine Head of the Church Catholic.

3. Both the Church of England and the American Episcopal Church, have recognized and sanctioned the principle of revolution, in great emergencies of human affairs, as both are based upon that principle, and as both have vindicated it in theory and act, the former having passed by revolution from Papacy to Protestantism, and the latter from allegiance to the former, to an independent position.*

4. Both the English and American Churches have recognized and sanctioned the principle of improve-

* The American Church was involved in the American Revolution, and went with it, though the recognition of her independence by the *mother Church*, was a pacific arrangement.

ment in forms of worship, in discipline, and in polity, "according to the various exigencies of times and occasions," under the action of the General Synod of the Church.

5. The American Episcopal Church, in recognizing the laity as an elementary power of the Church for purposes of legislation and government, and in the manner and extent of that recognition, has incorporated in the Church the fundamental principle of republicanism, in conformity to the genius of the American people, and of American institutions.

6. In the title or style of "the *Protestant* Episcopal Church in the United States," the American Church has defined, declared, and published to the world, her position in relation to the Church of Rome.

[The above propositions we regard as flowing directly from the history of the organization of the American Episcopal Church, and the following as implied :]

7. Authority for the usages of the American Episcopal Church, in the public administration of her offices, does not lie back of the date of her existence, or outside of her own pale, except so far as those usages have been recognized and sanctioned by the action and practice of the Church.

8. The Book of Common Prayer, as altered, amended, and adopted by the General Convention, is the sole authority for the ministers of the Church, in regulating their modes of public administration.

9. The best and most reliable interpreter of the purposes and uses of the Book of Common Prayer, as to modes of administration, is the general practice

of the American Episcopal Church, since its adoption, in connection with the rubrics therein contained.

10. In regard to modes of administration, any interpretation of the purposes and uses of the Book of Common Prayer, drawn from histories and customs foreign to the history and customs of the American Episcopal Church, and not founded on the rubrical prescriptions of the Prayer Book, is unauthorized by the Church, and contrary to her genius.

11. The genius of the American Episcopal Church is opposed to the excessive ritual of the Church of Rome, to all imitations thereof, and to all approximations thereunto, not justified by the general practice of the Church, and the directions of the Prayer Book.

12. The past is a legitimate field of research, for verifying and vindicating the general economy, the faith, the principles, and the usages of the American Episcopal Church, in all that was recognized, adopted, and established at her organization; but not for adding any thing in either of the above named particulars, without the consent of the Church expressed in the form of legislation.

The above propositions will be noticed and applied in the progress of the work, as occasion may require.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE GENIUS OF THE AMERICAN EPISCOPAL CHURCH, AS SHOWN
IN THE TITLE SHE HAS ADOPTED, AND IN HER REPUBLICAN
CHARACTER.

IN all the preliminary steps for the organization of the American Episcopal Church *in* and *for* the United States, as an independent nation, a considerate regard seems to have been had for the new position to be occupied by this Church. In the first place, the name or style of this new branch of the Christian family, was of no inconsiderable importance, and is in fact, of great significancy, not only as declaratory of the feeling and purpose of those engaged in this work, but as a definition of the position which this Church was intended to occupy, in all future times, in relation to the Church of Rome. It was styled "the *Protestant* Episcopal Church in the United States." This word, Protestant, was not an accident, but a principle—a great principle. It was not inconsiderately, but considerately, introduced in the title. It would be a libel on those who put it there, to suppose it had no meaning. Its historical import was in the mind of all the world. It is a great word, and carries in it the most pregnant histories which the pen of man has ever recorded. The entire history of the Church of Rome, from her perversion down to the Reformation, is there. The history of

the Reformation itself is there. The history of the Church of England, as a Protestant Church, is there. The religious and political history of all Christendom for more than three centuries, is there. The history of the greatest crimes that have ever afflicted, and of the most eminent virtues that have adorned humanity, is there. There is not another word in any or in all languages, of an historical import, more highly charged with meaning than this. And it is not a word that could ever sleep in men's minds, as one of insignificance, or in regard to which men could be indifferent.

The organization of the American Episcopal Church, independent of the mother Church, as the United States were independent of the mother country, was an event of no mean consideration ; and the title which she was to wear in all future time, in the ears of the world, and in the records of history, was to be a definition of her character, and of her position. Will any say, that they who decreed this title, did not understand this ? Or that the Church herself, from that time to this, or that the public, have not understood it ? If there be any single fact that could determine the genius of the American Episcopal Church, more than another, it is the original bestowment and her proud subsequent wearing of this name of *Protestant*, down to this time.

The great battle of freedom, between the claims of the Church of Rome on one hand, and the claims of humanity on the other, was well begun by the Reformers ; but it did not end there. The polity of the Church of Rome, so comprehensive, so vast, so *compactly* put together, which absorbed so many

centuries for its growth and completion, and which still holds the grasp of a strong hand on most of the states and nations of Christendom, entering into their counsels and controlling them, pervading their several structures, and bracing them up for its own purposes, is not an edifice that could be brought down to the ground by a single blow, not even by one so potent as that of the Reformation. The dogmas of the Church of Rome, peculiar to herself, and originating in her own bosom, have moulded the intellect and heart of by far the largest part of the Christian world. Her missionaries have gone out to the ends of the earth, and anticipated the march of civilization. In all Christian and Pagan lands, she still rears her front of bold and lofty pretensions, denouncing all opposition as wicked and damnable, as having incurred the pains of eternal death, to be inflicted by her hand. Her claims in nothing relaxed, are for ever the same, though her policy is adapted to time and circumstance. Witness her recent attempts of invasion on the British empire, by throwing over it the arms of her hierarchy, to recover her former and long lost hold. Dead or dying in one place, apparently for a season, like the fabled hydra, she erects a thousand hideous heads in other quarters, for every one that has been cut off. Upon her forehead, branded by Divine prophecy, there still glares out to the gaze of the world, the name, "**MYSTERY, BABYLON THE GREAT, THE MOTHER OF HARLOTS, AND ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH.**" The charm of the serpent is not more

captivating, and scarcely is the serpent's victim more sure.

The battle between Papal power and freedom on the American continent, is yet in the distant future. But come it must, and "the *Protestant* Episcopal Church in the United States" must have her part in it. We know not in what form it will break forth on society. He that is forewarned, should be forearmed. The *Protestant* Episcopal Church cannot shrink from the contest. She has, from the beginning, flung her banner out in her name, and still proudly wears it. She may not have been fully conscious of her destiny, when she spread it to the breeze. But there it is in her hand; there it is in the baptism on her forehead; and the sentiment, deep and irradicable, is in her heart. It is an element of her genius, and a pervading one. Her antagonism to Rome was sucked from her mother's breast; is in her blood, and sinews, and bones; and she must cease to be, before she can cease to be *Protestant*.

But the *republican* character of the American Episcopal Church illustrates its genius in a very interesting, important, instructive, and practical point of view. The genius of the American Church is not like the genius of the Church of England; not at all; though many, perhaps, have supposed it so, and taken it for granted. We acknowledge the relation of child to parent. We revere the mother, and love all her children as brethren. As disciples of a common Master, we give and take the hand of fellowship with a most sincere and fraternal regard.

As deriving our Episcopate from that quarter, we thank God for it, and the Church of England next. But she knows, and all the world knows, that she was as much honoured in bestowing, as we in receiving it. She was bound to bestow it, and was only in fault, as one of her own prelates, the Bishop of Oxford, has confessed in so many forms, in his "History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America," that she did not bestow it long before. Episcopacy is not the gift of man, to be used at the discretion or will of man. It is the gift of God, of the great Head of the Church, as a sacred trust, to be conferred by those who hold it in their hands, wherever the Church has need of it. But we are not ungrateful for this gift, as late as it came. It came at last from a willing and cheerful heart, and was received with a thankful one ; and we still love those who presented us with this prerogative, so indispensable to the prosperity, to the very existence of the American Church, in the primitive and apostolic forms ; and we are not ungrateful for the admirable liturgy and articles of faith of the Church of England, which, under such alterations and amendment as were required in our new position, we have adopted as our own.

But from the cradle of our infancy we have grown up to manhood, and we are now equals, still reverencing the mother that bore us, and ready to fraternize, in all Christian offices, with her children. But we have been educated in a different school—a school of Providence. It was Providence that made us what we are as Churchmen, not our mother of

England. It was Providence that opened the American continent, as the balance power of the world, in a moral as well as in a physical sense. It was Providence that planted the Anglo Saxon race in North America, bringing with them the Protestant religion, under peculiar trials, answerable, perhaps, to the woman of the Apocalypse, who was "clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars;" and who, after the birth of her child, "fled into the wilderness, where she had a place prepared for her of God." It was Providence that inspired the people of this continent with new and loftier aspirations after freedom, the fervour and vigour of which have been augmented by time and events. It was Providence that made America a refuge for the people of all the oppressed nations of Europe. It was Providence which prepared the way for American independence, and established it. It was Providence that educated the people of the United States in the school of their own peculiar training, and for a great purpose. If they had been fashioned in character after the model of European nations, or of any one of the nations of Europe, or of the British nation, they would never have been qualified for their great mission. They were moulded by the hand of God, for a specific destiny.

This point of the subject is of still greater interest and importance, if we regard the common instinctive feeling of the world, which is doubtless worthy of some, if not of great respect, to wit, that the American continent, is destined to take the lead in the

march of Christian civilization. The whole of Europe is under the shakles of old forms of society, which, as yet, have not worked well for improvement; while America has, almost by a single bound, leaped forward to a most hopeful position, not only as to her prospective influence on the future of this hemisphere, but on the future of the whole world. Having once broken loose from European pupilage, and with such eminent success, walking alone in the proud consciousness of her own independence, she cannot fall back, she is bound to go forward. The several bodies of Christians planted here, must necessarily sympathize with this position, and with these hopes, and their politics must be shaped accordingly. Ours is not the taste for going backward, and for being founded and shaped on the past; but we have acquired some new tastes, some new aspirations. We have already a manhood of character, that is entitled to assert the claims of manhood. We have not refused to borrow from Europe, and to adopt what is good from the remote past; but we have invented something good. We have sifted the past, examined the present, looked into the chances of the future, and shaped our course, after a survey of the entire field, influenced doubtless, properly influenced, by a sense of our new and peculiar position.

It cannot but be seen how wise and prudent it was, in the American Episcopal Church, to allow herself to be moulded, to insist on being moulded, in the outset, into a character that was fitted for the times, for the occasion; and as we now see, for all future time, and for all future occasions. No one can conceive of a

probable future of this country, to which the polity of the American Episcopal Church is not adapted. She is framed for a destiny as lofty and as large as the world can ever demand; and certainly the aspects of the field she occupies are as hopeful as any the world ever saw.

We may also say of that portion of the American people who have come within the pale of the American Episcopal Church, and who are still coming into it, that they are not moulded after the fashion of English Churchmen, never could be, never ought to be. We say not this in derogation of the character of the English Church. Not at all. But only out of respect to that Providence, which had a different mission for the American Episcopal Church, from that of the Church of England—almost totally different. The American Church was planted in a widely different field, in the midst of a people of different habits, of different modes of thinking, and whose genius, morally, socially, and politically, was altogether peculiar. Who does not see and know, that the Church of England, with her peculiar genius and organization, could never be useful here? The greatest obstacle in the way of the extension and prosperity of the American Episcopal Church, down to this time, has been the erroneous assumption, that she is a type of the English Church—the same thing. She is not the same thing, far from it, as we shall yet have occasion largely to show; but in this place, we have only to do with that radical, fundamental, vital, and most important difference, the republican *character* of the American Episcopal Church. Her

polity, in this particular, is established, was fixed in her organization, and never will be changed. It is morally impossible it should be changed, as the laity, who are always jealous of their rights, have a balance power, in the vestries, in the diocesan Conventions, and in the General Convention. Bishop White, in his *Memoirs*, says: "Episcopacy as now settled in America, must be confessed as analogous as Presbytery—the author thinks much more so—to the plan of civil government, which mature deliberation has established over the Union; and to those plans, which, even during the heats of popular commotion, were adopted for the individual States."

The Church of England is not so. There is not a single feature of republicanism in her polity. A parish, in connexion with the Establishment, has no voice in the choice of a clergyman who is to serve them, or in the administration of parochial affairs. The laity have no representation in any ecclesiastical body, and no influence of any sort in the legislation for the Church, except in the election of members of Parliament, which is a civil, and not an ecclesiastical right. Parliament does all the legislation for the Church. In the American Episcopal Church, all her legislation is done in the General and Diocesan Conventions, where the laity are always a balance power; and not only so, but they have the entire control of their own parochial affairs. This difference between the Church of England and the American Episcopal Church, is one of great import, and of great practical importance, as can hardly fail to be seen. In the former Church, the laity, in point of influence

in ecclesiastical affairs, are a defunct body; or rather, they never had any life. In the latter, they are a part, and an equal part, of the living soul of the Church, for all purposes of ecclesiastical legislation and administration.

There is one ghost of popular apprehension, which has been always haunting, and still haunts the minds of persons not within the pale of the American Episcopal Church, and that is, the power of the bishops. They have heard what it is in England and elsewhere, and they think it must be the same here. On this point, it may be sufficient to remark, that the bishop's power, in the American Church, is entirely under the control of the canons, in the enactment of which the laity always have had, and still have an equal voice, and that a bishop is equally liable to be arraigned and tried by the canons, for abuse of power, or for any other maladministration, and for misconduct of any kind, as any presbyter, or deacon, or layman in the Church; and the history of the American Episcopal Church will show, that this is sometimes done, when the unfortunate occasion demands it. Under such a system of Church republicanism, the bishop, of all men in the Church, is most dependant on his character, for official influence and usefulness, and for personal happiness. He has the strongest motives for fidelity, and suffers most for want of it. The eye of the Church is upon him, and the republican spirit of the Church is ever aware of its prerogative in watching and arraigning him, if his faults demand it.

The truth, after all, with these fault-finders, pro-

bably is, that their only objection to a bishop, is a *bishop*. But in the Episcopal Church, there must be a bishop, as all know. It is fundamental, a *sine qua non*. This is not the place to show the Divine origin of the office, or how suitable and how important it is. But when its power is seen to be limited and controlled, as above shown, by the republican genius and practice of the Church, this objection, one would think, ought to be silenced, and a suitable respect awarded to the conscientious convictions of Episcopalians, as to the obligations of the Church, resulting from Divine appointment, to have bishops.

Notwithstanding that the Bishop of Oxford, in his history, makes his criticisms, as might be expected, on the republican character of the American Church, he nevertheless speaks of it with respect, and is forced to acknowledge, in the face of the want of it in the English Church, that it is in conformity with primitive practice, under the Apostles. Speaking of the General Convention of Philadelphia, in 1787, he says: "For the first time it was gathered together, in the full likeness of that Council, to which 'the Apostles and Elders came together at Jerusalem.' For now, as then, it met with bishops at its head, with presbyters and deacons, each in their own order, and with the *laity*, 'the multitude of the faithful,' taking solemn counsel for the welfare of Zion."

It is an interesting and important practical consideration, that Church politics may be framed to suit any state of society, under a monarchy or a republic, or under any form of either, without sacri-

ficing any thing vital in Christianity. So far as appears, and necessarily, the Church commenced its career, under the Apostles, in the use of the simplest forms of oral polity and modes of worship. Their extension was the result of time and circumstance, first as ordered by the Apostles, and next as agreed to by conventional legislation. The things in the Church, which cannot be touched by the hand of man to modify, or to originate any thing to fill their places, are, first, the inspired writings; next, the Christian Ministry, as instituted by the Head of the Church; thirdly, the permanent offices established by the Apostles, which, in the belief of Episcopalians, are bishops, presbyters, and deacons; and, lastly, the two Sacraments, and the rite of Confirmation. Beyond these, nothing appears to be authoritatively prescribed as to Church polity, modes of worship, or articles of belief, except a body of great and fundamental principles, distinctly put forward, here and there, by Christ and his Apostles, as a guide to all Christians in all ages, on which the Apostles themselves erected the Church, "Jesus Christ being the chief corner-stone." The things original published, and always available, are *principles*, rather than *modes*. In this we see the wisdom of the great Head of the Church, that, in all things not essential to the vitality of Christianity and of the truths of the Gospel, the Church might be extended over all nations, and through all ages, under such forms of polity, and modes of worship, as would be best adapted to her efficiency and usefulness, among *any people*, and in any state of society whatsoever.

The American Episcopal Church, finding herself, in her component elements as members of a civil commonwealth, part and parcel of a republic, and sympathizing with republican institutions, as she had an undoubted right to do, judged it right and expedient, in the outset of her career as a distinct branch of the family of Christ, in her very organization, to incorporate the republican principle as a fundamental, pervading, and controlling element of her polity; and in doing that, she placed herself on the primitive foundation of the Apostles. It was no less an act of superlative wisdom, than of eminent Christian virtue. If she could not show, that she is republican in her character, how could she expect the favour of the American people? And that she is fundamentally so, will appear from an examination of her polity. The Wesleyan society, in the United States, is undergoing a revolution at this moment, to establish the co-ordinate power of the laity, which has hitherto been denied them, and it is sure to be attained, because it is the genius of the American people.

The wisdom of this part of the polity of the American Episcopal Church, still further appears in its practical operation, in bringing the most eminent talent of the laity into the councils of the Church, for legislation and other functions of government. We are sorry to be obliged to say, but it is a well known fact, that clergymen are not usually so practical in their views of life and of men, as the laity; and nothing is more important in the public councils of the church, than this sort of talent. The experience of the American Episcopal Church has evinced,

in a thousand different ways, and on a thousand different occasions, how much she is indebted to the councils and influence of the laity. It is doubtless owing, partly to defects of education in the clergy, partly to their isolation from general society, and to the peculiar habits of their profession, that they have less practical wisdom than the laity, and that they are more liable to err on questions of legislation and administration in Church affairs. Often has the Church been saved from grave mistakes in her public acts, by the superior tact of the laity; and equally often has she acquired great practical advantages by the same means. So general is, this impression of the salutary influence of the laity in the public councils of the Church, that probably not a bishop or clergyman would now be willing to dispense with this co-ordinate power and authority. It is felt to be important and necessary. None can deny, on the contrary, all must see, that the genius of the American Episcopal Church is republican.

CHAPTER IX.

THE GENIUS OF THE AMERICAN EPISCOPAL CHURCH AS SHOWN IN THE SHAPES AND PRACTICAL OPERATION OF HER AUTHORITY.

THE theory of the Episcopal office, as derived from Christ, through the Apostles, is, that a bishop has power to do any thing, any where, which he may judge best, or think incumbent upon him, for the enlargement and edification of the Church. Such was the high and unlimited discretion of the Apostles. Such is the essence of Episcopal care in all ages and places, except as it is qualified, abridged, and regulated by conventional rules, or by the politics of the Church. Under the Apostles we do not hear of any church polity, except in their own oral and epistolary orders. They acted under Divine inspiration, and their orders were the only polity, always right and sufficient. Obedience to them was safe and best, and they were obeyed. But subsequently more extended conventional politics, based on the instructions of the Apostles, which were well known by tradition, and on their epistolary records, became indispensable; and so far as they applied to the bishops, they were as binding on them, as on other officers and members of the Church. It is the nature and necessity of all societies, that each must have a polity, which, indeed, is the very essence of its structure.

In the organization of the American Episcopal

Church, as seen in a preceding chapter, her polity brings the bishops under law, as much as a presbyter, deacon, or layman. The theory of the Episcopal office is, however, still the same, within the limits and under the regulations of the canons. Under that system, and guided by it, the bishop has power to do any thing he may think best for the enlargement and edification of the Church, he being responsible for results. But he must not violate the principles, or trespass on the lines of that polity.*

The authority of the American Episcopal Church is purely and exclusively canonical. It is in no case, and in no degree, personal or arbitrary. This is a most important and practical distinction. Personal authority or influence is entirely without the pale of canonical authority, though not necessarily in violation of it. On the contrary, it is a most important faculty of usefulness, not only in carrying out the purposes of canonical regulations, but in doing good in a thousand forms which canonical authority could never reach, and which the latter does not forbid. Canonical authority tells how things should be done, and what things may not be done. It defines rights and privileges. As far as possible it has taken care

* By the polity of the Church, we mean its Constitution, and the body of its Canons, as adopted and amended from time to time. The Canons, properly, constitute the code of legislation, based on the Constitution. The Constitution of the American Episcopal Church, we have given in a note, page 150. The canons would make a small book by themselves, and in a work of this kind, can only be referred to generally. A more extended definition of Church polity *will be found in the first chapter.*

of the rights of all, by prescribing the duties of all, directly or indirectly, in the shape of principles and of specific cases, where it could not give precise rules for all cases. Canonical rules are necessarily few and general, and by the same necessity are comprehensive. But personal authority or influence extends over the entire surface of society, and acts on every individual who comes in its way. It descends into detail, and adapts itself to the shape of every new occurrence, to all varieties of character, and to the vicissitudes of events. It is an instinctive discretion, which God has given to man, susceptible of being regulated by tried maxims, and improved by experience. There are no bounds to the good or to the evil which it may accomplish. Under the promptings of true religion, and of a conscientious regard to public polity, it may acquire to itself an unlimited field of usefulness ; or by the bad use of one's position, it may do infinite harm. In the same manner a bishop's personal authority or influence, if rightly used, may extend its beneficent effects without limit ; or if perverse, there are no bounds to the evil he may do, except as he is brought to account by canonical authority. Personal authority in the Church, should always be kept apart from canonical authority as they are never identical, though they may be coincident, and always should be, when they come in contact. But the field of personal authority, or the ground that may be occupied by it, is infinitely the widest. No human polity can reach the minutiae of human actions ; but personal influence reaches them all.

We have only proposed by these remarks to show, that, as the American Episcopal Church is a constitutional Church, its authority is derived from the Constitution, and defined more particularly by the code of legislation founded upon it. It is not personal or arbitrary. With this distinction in view, every officer and every member of the Church can ascertain both his duty and his rights. If a bishop trespass on the rights of a presbyter or deacon, or if a presbyter or deacon trespass on the rights of the laity, or of any member of the laical body ; or if any party in the Church violate the rights of another party ; all these aggrieved parties have the right of appeal to canonical authority for the vindication of their rights. The personal authority of the aggressor will avail him nothing, but will only aggravate his offence for such a use of it. The Church tolerates no arbitrary power. Such power may prosper for a season ; but a day of retribution awaits it. The personal authority of a bishop or of a presbyter, regulated by canonical authority, is always sufficient for all purposes of usefulness ; but it may be abused for bad ends, though, in the latter case, it is always open to scrutiny and arrest. A bishop and the clergy are always held in respect, if they are exemplary in their lives and calling. Their office is respected ; and their personal character, if good, greatly augments the influence of their office ; and both these influences, embodied in one person, naturally become personal in their operation on the public. The personal authority or influence of a bishop and of the clergy, therefore, is eminent, from the position they occupy

and may often require the checks and corrections of canonical authority. It is always sufficient for all purposes of usefulness ; and sometimes, alas, it is abused to bad purposes. But there is the Constitution, and the code of legislation, staring all offenders in the face, and ready to protect the rights of the aggrieved. There is not a member of the Church, however humble, to whom the doors of the sanctuary of public justice are not always open.

How different such a system from that of the Church of Rome ? It is true the Church of Rome has a polity ; but it was framed to vindicate the prerogatives of the Pope over the priesthood, the prerogatives of the priesthood over the laity, and the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome over all nations and over all people. It was framed to establish a personal or arbitrary authority in the Pope, by the dogma of his infallibility ; though, when convenient, he may cite the decisions of councils and papal precedents. But he has no need of such authority. The polity of the Church of Rome was framed to establish personal or arbitrary authority in the priesthood over the people ; for it is purely such. It was framed to authorize a system of casuistry, that should sanction two opposite decisions of the same question, because the authority of one priest may never be adduced to invalidate the authority of another ; authority, and not right, being the thing that must be maintained. It was framed to sanction a hundred different decisions of the same question, if a hundred priests could, in their separate action, make such a diversity. It was framed to authorize every species

of crime, immorality, and vice, whenever in the judgment of the priesthood, such acts shall promote the interests of the Church of Rome. It was framed to create a unity of authority and of action in the Church, by forcing virtue and vice, obedience to God and crime against God and man, into fellowship ! In a word, it was framed to confound the distinction between right and wrong, and to nullify the authority of Christianity in morals and religion.

And how different the polity of the American Episcopal Church, touching authority from that of the Church of England. We speak not in derogation of the Church of England in this particular ; but we speak of fact. The genius of the two Churches, in some respects alike, is in others widely diverse. We have already noticed some of those diversities, and here is another. The Church of England is mixed up with the State, and the legislation for the Church is done in Parliament. It may be said, for aught we can see, that the Constitution of the Church of England consists in those acts of Parliament which constitute the legislation for the Church, as the Constitution of the British Empire is made up of the entire series of parliamentary legislation. There is no other tangible Constitution of the Church or of the Empire.* The Convocation of the clergy, which once occupied the position of an ecclesiastical body, claiming the right to deliberate

* Of course, the ancient constitutions and canons of the Church are yet of some use and force ; but the modern legislation of Parliament has well nigh superseded them, and for practical purposes, they seem to be next to obsolete.

and legislate on the affairs of the Church, was prohibited all action by the government ages ago, and though still asking leave, has not yet been permitted to sit again for business. The authorities of the Church proper, cannot make an alteration or amendment in the liturgy, without an order from the sovereign; nor make or amend canons without his sanction. The last commission for a review of the English Book of Common Prayer was issued in 1689; "but," says the preface to the American Book of Common Prayer, "this great and good work miscarried at that time, and the civil authority," that is, the sovereign, "has not since thought proper to revive it by a new commission."

The authority of the Church of England is so merged in that of the State, that it would be hard to find any purely ecclesiastical authority, in vital action, except Episcopal, which is a department of authority by itself, and would hardly be ranked as ecclesiastical in the common sense of the term, which, we believe, generally implies conventionalism, or some associated action; whereas, Episcopacy is claimed to be of Divine origin, and not subject to the conventional action of men for its essential attributes, though it may be and is regulated by such action. The polity of the Church of England, therefore, in the proper sense of the term, such as it is, and all there is, lies back of 1717, when the Church ceased to act as a Church, and since which she has never been re-installed in that position. Her actual governing polity is the legislation of Parliament. We can nowhere find in the Church of England a like-

ness to the polity or Constitution of the American Episcopal Church. The two Churches, in this respect, are utterly dissimilar. The position of the English Church in this regard, may be, and probably is, satisfactory to them ; it is doubtless adapted to the genius of the government, if not to the genius of the people. Ours, certainly, and we think fortunately, is adapted to the genius of the American people. That consistent chain of authority which binds the American Episcopal Church together, and secures the rights of all parties, official and laical, and defines the duties of all, on a truly republican platform, illustrates eminently the wisdom and virtue of its authors ; and we hope we may be permitted to add, illustrates also the wisdom of that Providence which superintended and ordered it.

CHAPTER X.

THE GENIUS OF THE AMERICAN EPISCOPAL CHURCH, AS ILLUSTRATED IN HER ATTACHMENT TO EPISCOPACY.

THERE is something in the claims of Episcopacy, doubtless, which commands the respect of the Christian world, not only on account of the evidence of its having been established by the Apostles, and consequently of its institution by Christ himself, but from the fact, that the historical evidence supporting the opposite pretensions, falls within the limit of about three centuries. These claims are in substance, that the Apostles instituted two orders of ministration in the Church, under themselves, to wit, presbyters and deacons, for a permanent arrangement, to be carried out in their own day, and to be handed down in the Church, of whom they, the Apostles, were superiors and principles; that the Apostles sent forth these two orders to minister to the Churches, under their instructions; that the Apostles constituted the first order of the Christian ministry, presbyters the second, and deacons the third; that the Apostles appointed successors to themselves, with instructions to maintain the same system, and with powers to continue their own succession by a similar appointment, with similar instructions; that the successors of the Apostles were generally called bishops in the early ages, and in pro-

cess of time, that name was appropriated to them distinctively; that these bishops were endowed by the Apostles with plenary powers of administration over the Churches, and over the other two orders of the ministry; that this was the primitive system, established by the Apostles, and made obligatory on the Church of all coming ages; and that the bishops have, down to this time, occupied the place of the Apostles, in all but the prerogatives of inspiration, and the power of working miracles.* This is called the *Apostolic succession*.

The evidence seems to be paramount, that this succession has never been interrupted, except in those smaller parts of the Christian commonwealth, in modern times, where it is not regarded as obligatory, or essential to a valid Christian ministry. The great majority of Christendom, in all ages, has held to Episcopacy, and been careful to maintain a regular and uninterrupted succession of bishops; and wherever this succession could not be satisfactorily proved, the mind of the Church, in those parts, has been in a disturbed state on that account. The theory of Episcopacy, that is, of chiefs, in one form or another, is natural to every state of society, and will as certainly come into practice, as that men cannot do without leaders; and the only question is, whether it shall

* It is commonly believed, that the power of working miracles did not cease with the Apostles, but that it continued for ages, at least for a long period; and it appears to have been enjoyed by the fellow-labourers of the Apostles. It was never, we believe, regarded as an exclusive prerogative of the Episcopate, in the age of *miracles*.

be regulated or unregulated, canonical or usurped. It is precisely that system which, it might be presumed the inspired Apostles would adopt and appoint. For it cannot be imagined that they would leave so important a commonwealth as the Church of Jesus Christ without an authoritative supervision, or without a polity, simple though it was in the beginning. Besides their natural sagacity, as practical men, they were endowed with special gifts of wisdom by the Holy Ghost for their special vocation; and Saint Paul, at least, was a man fit for a statesman in any age or nation, by his superior education.

The Apostles knew, by Divine inspiration, that they were laying the foundation for a spiritual empire, for all nations, and for all time; and what more simple or more beneficent than an Episcopal system regulated, since men, in all societies, must have something of the kind? Any how, that is almost universally received as an Apostolic appointment, according as well with presumption as with history; and if this system cannot be settled upon, no other can, and the Church is doomed to fall back into anarchy, or, which is tantamount, to leave every one to choose for himself. Episcopacy, however, has in fact obtained a ruling ascendancy in the mind of the universal Church, as having been ordered by the Apostles, and cannot easily be dislodged from that position. They who reject it, are always more or less disquieted with the thought, that they may be wrong; whereas, they who accept it, are universally satisfied, and gradually become more and more con-

firmed in the belief that they are right. Both history and presumption are on their side.

It is in this state of mind, that the American Episcopal Church has received and entertained the doctrine of Episcopacy. They believe in it; they cherish it; they are satisfied with it. They have no fear of the power of bishops, because they know they live under a constitutional Church, where the bishop is as much bound by law as a presbyter, or deacon, or layman, and can no more trespass with impunity on the rights of others. They have seen and appreciated the salutary operation of the system, in all its aspects and bearings, on the clergy, on the churches and congregations, on themselves as individuals, on their families, on their children. They have always the pastoral care of their own clergyman; and an Episcopal visitation is a festival, spiritual and social, on which occasion, besides other Episcopal benefits highly prized, all those who have been carefully trained and qualified by the pastor, are solemnly inducted by the office of confirmation into full communion with the Church, and into all its privileges. The bishop is "the angel of the Church," spoken of in the Apocalypse, and his periodical returns to the people are angel visits. If he is a good and holy man, it is natural that men should so esteem him. His necessarily infrequent calls render them all the more precious, when their benefit is realized. He cannot be among the people often, and when he does come, he leaves a blessing behind him that is highly prized. The children grow up to love and honour him, and what as children they

have so highly esteemed, will not be effaced from their hearts in riper years. Episcopacy is a system which binds society together by the holiest ties, from the lowest to the highest point. The child looks up to the man of God with reverence and affection, and the parent who loves his child, loves the bishop who lays his hands upon the child, and blesses it in the name of God. Is it not a system that lifts our nature above the common level, and dignifies it with aspirations after a better state ?

And the American Episcopal Church is attached to her Constitution as it is, touching the Episcopacy. She knows no Primate among her bishops. There was no Primate among the Apostles. Rome has a Primate, and many dignitaries above a bishop. England has a "Primate of *all* England," in the Archbishop of Canterbury, and a "Primate of England," in the Archbishop of York, a distinction apparently without a difference. But there were political reasons for giving the Archbishop of Canterbury a preference. But the Constitution of the American Church is a fixed leveller, and determines for all time the equality of her bishops. Nothing would be more startling than the idea of an archbishop, or of an archdeacon in the American Church. Was not the genius of the American people consulted in this, as in the general economy of the Church ? And was it not right, expedient to do so ? Some, we know, scout the doctrine of expediency ; that is— for what is the difference ?—they denounce prudence. Did not Saint Paul, in becoming "all things to all men," give some sanction to expediency, in other

words, to prudence? Prudence, we think, was one of the leading virtues that came down from heaven, if all virtues came from thence; and if the first rebel in heaven had been prudent, he never would have rebelled.

It is the republican character of the American Episcopal Church, above all things, that qualifies her for her lofty mission in this new world; and the members of that Church, official and laical, are none the less, but all the more attached to her on that account. Attached to the principle of republicanism in the State, they see in its introduction into the Church, and in its controlling influence there, a guaranty for the rights of all.

In no part of Christendom does Episcopacy occupy the same position as in the United States, nor even a similar one, so far as we can see. Episcopacy, as a Divine institution, can never be modified by the hand of man; but the position it may occupy, in a Church polity, may be diversified indefinitely. In the American Episcopal Church, it was originally adjusted in a manner, which could hardly be improved, in adaptation to the genius and institutions of the country; and the bishops, we believe, have never complained of it. Why should they? They came in with it and under it, and owe all their consequence to this polity. It touches not their proper Episcopal prerogatives, and never can. These prerogatives stand aloof from all contact with human institutions, and must forever remain so, as a pure Divine institution. But a bishop, as a member of a *commonwealth*, spiritual or civil, must take his place

in it, as determined by the polity that framed it. He has no sovereign right there, that is not conferred on every other member, to wit, the right of voice in his place, under the canons, if it be in the Church. While, therefore, his Episcopal prerogatives, as derived from the Head of the Church, remain intact, he is as much a subject of law as any other member of the Church. It is the beauty and harmony of the system of the American Episcopal Church, with an inviolate Episcopacy over her, both acting reciprocally on each other, in execution of the original purpose of the two institutions ; it is this, we think, which has contributed not a little to create that attachment which the Church feels and cherishes towards the Episcopate. All in the Church concede the Divine authority of a valid Episcopacy, such as the American is proved to be ; and none in the Church can fail to see how harmoniously such an institution can blend with a human polity, such as that of the American Church. He who ordained Episcopacy for the Church, foresaw that it must forever have similar relations to human polities, and with infinite wisdom charged it precisely with those attributes and prerogatives, which would forever be consistent with those relations, however diversified they might be.

“ Long and earnest examination has rooted the belief in my mind,” says Mr. Hoffman, “ that, in the Protestant Episcopal Church, we have the nearest approach that the world can present, to the Church which the Saviour authorized his Apostles to establish. As I believe that all hope of the preservation of our unrivalled civil institutions rests upon the pre-

valance of Christianity, so do I believe that the more the people are anchored in the doctrines and principles of the Episcopal Church, the more surely will those institutions abide every assault they must encounter. The exposition of her laws may assist in the promotion of that respect and awe which her tenets command, just in proportion as they are studied. Her cautious spirit, her firm yet well tempered discipline, her strong foundations in the Holy Scriptures, her stately columns strengthened by all historic evidence and primitive action, the beautiful chastity of her garments of worship as she approaches the Father of spirits, and that most exquisite union of Gospel Truth and devotional fervour—the Book of Common Prayer—all combine to supply every thing that a pure imagination, an earnest piety, and an enlightened intellect, can crave or desire. Let but the spirit of forbearance and toleration move among ourselves, let us but uphold her doctrines with firmness and charity, let her holiness be exemplified in our lives, and the mind of the country will give way to her claims, will imbibe her truth, and will spread her influence from the vale to the hill top, until the whole land rejoices in her presence.”—*Hoffman on the Law of the Church*, pp. 84 & 85.

CHAPTER XL

THE GENIUS OF THE AMERICAN EPISCOPAL CHURCH, AS ILLUSTRATED IN HER ATTACHMENT TO LITURGICAL SERVICES.

LIKE Church politics, liturgies have been the result of time and circumstance. It cannot be pretended, that liturgical services were in use, to any considerable extent, when the Christian Church commenced its career under the Apostles. Nor is this a good reason, as some suppose, why they should not be adopted. There must be a beginning to all institutions, and to all societies, which are to exist and to be extended on a grand scale ; and that beginning is necessarily small and simple. The commencement and nucleus of a Christian liturgy was given by Christ himself : " When ye pray, say, Our Father which art in heaven," which has been universally respected by all Christian people, though there are some, who being averse to liturgies, seldom repeat it correctly, or who purposely make variations, as if they could improve it.

The Apostles had all been brought up under the liturgical services of the Jewish rites, and were perfectly aware, that their Master attended on them, conformed to them, and gave them his sanction. Although our Saviour rebuked the corruptions of the temple service, it was only for reform, and to restore its purity. In setting up the Christian commonwealth, nothing was

more natural than, that the Apostles should substitute, as soon as practicable, Christian modes and forms of worship, in the place of Jewish. That they did very soon establish liturgical services to some extent, and a church polity, is evident, not only from the necessity of the case, but from incidental allusions of the inspired word: "The rest will I set in order, when I come." (1 Cor. xi. 33.) "Let all things be done decently and in order." (1 Cor. xiv. 40.) "For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting." (Titus, i. 5.) "God be thanked, that ye have obeyed from the heart, that form of doctrine which was delivered unto you." (Rom. vi. 17.) "If the trumpet shall give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself for the battle?" (1 Cor. xiv. 8.) "Hold fast the form of sound words." (2 Tim. i. 13.) "A bishop must be blameless, &c. . . . holding fast the faithful word, as he has been taught, that he may be able by sound doctrine, both to exhort and to convince the gainsayers." (Titus, i. 7—9.) "In doctrine showing uncorruptness, ... sound speech that cannot be condemned." (Titus ii. 7, 8.) It was a steady aim and the great labour of the Apostles to establish in all the churches planted by their hands, uniformity of order, and uniformity of doctrine, the first of which could not be done without a polity, nor the latter without a liturgy, or what was tantamount. It cannot be supposed, that the primitive Church was left by the Apostles, without a carefully established polity, and a "form of sound words," that should constitute patterns of worship, as well as standards

of faith; else, the whole Church, from the very character of the times, would have fallen into anarchy and confusion. How earnestly did St. Paul rebuke the Corinthian Church for having disobeyed his orders of discipline and of faith? "How is it, then, brethren? When ye come together, every one of you hath a psalm, hath a doctrine, hath a tongue, hath a revelation, hath an interpretation. Let all things be done unto edifying." (1 Cor. xiv. 26.) How could the Church be edified, in such a state of disorder and confusion?

But as a special Divine inspiration ceased from the Church, and as time advanced, the necessity of a Church polity, of uniformity in faith, and in modes of worship, became more and more imperative; and it was in consequence of a departure from the discipline and faith, as ordered and published by the Apostles, and in consequence of the liberties assumed by leading and influential minds, to introduce novelties in religious philosophy, in faith, in Church order, and in modes of worship, that, in after ages, great and fundamental errors crept into the Church, which laid the foundation for the great and notable perversions of the Church of Rome, from the disastrous effects of which the Christian Church has never yet recovered. Since the Reformation, however, great progress has been made in a return to the primitive faith, and to primitive practices; and there is sufficient evidence, which we have already had occasion to notice in this work, that nothing contributes so much to hold the Reformed Churches fast to the Rock of Ages, as their established forms of faith and worship.

The Church of England, amidst all her agitations and convulsions, has been held, and is still held firm in the faith, and uniform in her worship, by her Book of Common Prayer. Who can imagine where she would have been, by this time, without it? With all the diversity of opinion, manifested within her pale—and it has not been small—as to doctrine, faith, order, discipline, and worship, in every trial she has been brought back to her standard, the Prayer Book, as the umpire of all religious questions. It is admitted it might be improved, but the fit time seems not to have arrived. There is a scrupulous fear of impairing by touching it, and this conscientiousness, certainly, is worthy of great respect; it may, finally, prove of the greatest consequence, in the shape of a salutary caution.

And where and what would the American Episcopal Church have been, without her Book of Common Prayer? “Thanks to that Church,” the Christian world around and without her pale, are beginning to say, for holding us all fast in the faith by the prevalent influence of her standard. The agitations and convulsions of the religious world, in the United States, have, within the period of half a century, shaken the firmest religious politics to their foundations, and threatened to overthrow the faith handed down, for the want of adequate standards; and above all, apparently, for the want of a common liturgy, which, in every assembling of the people for public worship, would bring them to the use of the same words and forms, and consequently to the keeping *of the same faith*. If an American Churchman is

asked, what is your faith? He points to the Book of Common Prayer, and never thinks of departing from that. He may not fully understand it, but he has respect for the authority which published it, and for that which maintains it. He sees the salutary effects which it produces, in promoting harmony of opinion, in instructing and edifying the people, and in affording a common platform, a rallying centre, for the doctrine, worship, and discipline of a great Christian commonwealth—a platform, which is the same in California as in the State of Maine, and which binds together the bishops, the clergy, and people of the American Episcopal Church, as one great brotherhood of the Christian family, who, whenever and wherever they are assembled for worship, are necessarily in perfect accord, in the use of a common liturgy, and of a common form of faith.

And it is not only an instructive standard, comprehending the broad field of Christian doctrine, and prescribing lessons of Holy Scriptures for every day in the year, so as to embrace nearly the whole of the sacred volume; but it is edifying to every penitent and believing soul. All he wants, in any exigency of his spiritual condition, is there. From that source, as a means of instruction, he can supply all his needs, and through that medium he can commune with saints on earth and saints in heaven, with his God, and with his Saviour. Aided by forms, well considered and well arranged by the united wisdom and piety of the Church of all ages, he has no task of mind in the use of them; but may give himself

up to the lessons of instruction, and to the current of devotion and worship, which it opens before him. Who will pretend, that any man can invent extemporaneously such a rich treasury of doctrine and of devotion? Who will pretend, that extemporaneous modes of worship are not liable to crude thoughts, and often to extravagant vagaries, leading to pernicious doctrines? Moreover, what is commonly called extemporaneous performance in worship, is itself, for the most part, mere form, as the necessary result of mechanical habits of mind in every person. Who ever listened to such performances for many times, without observing this fact? And that which is properly extemporaneous, is apt to be the poorest and most unedifying part, which, possibly, may excite some attention, but little devotion, simply because it is a surprise, and brings the mind to a pause, to think what it is. In religion, as in every thing else, we are creatures of habit; and to be edified in worship, we must not be carried away from accustomed thoughts. The moment that is done, we are forced to begin to study, instead of being left to float along on a tide of devotion, on which the spirit of the worshiper may have been launched by the animating effect of the public offices of religion.

The benefit of a liturgy is best appreciated by those who have tried both ways. Rarely, if ever, do persons go back to what are called extemporaneous performances in public worship—which really are not so—when once they have become accustomed to the use of a liturgy; and seldom, if ever, do persons who have *known* no other than liturgical services, turn their

backs upon them, for the adoption of extemporaneous modes. They who change, go chiefly one way; they incline to a liturgy.

We are aware it is said by those who reject forms, that this preference is owing to the absence of vital religion, and that they sometimes think it a sufficient vindication of their own way, to stigmatize those who use a liturgy in public worship, as mere formalists. This, certainly, is not a very charitable, nor a very amiable mode of argument. Indeed, it cuts all argument short, by a dogmatical decision. It has already been suggested, that what are called extemporaneous modes of conducting public worship, are, after all, mere forms. It is impossible that an observing person should have attended habitually on the services of these extemporizers, no matter how superior and talented they may be, without having been struck with the uniformity of modes of expression and of topics, which characterize their devotional exercises; and they always fall far short of the richness and scope of a well-indited liturgy. But where there is one who does well in these pretended extemporaneous performances, there are many who do badly in them. We often hear what are called prayers, which, for a great part, are any thing but prayer. We have heard eminent ministers of religion occupy much time in giving the Deity information as a ground of his petitions; and we have heard others deliver a sort of oration, or a dissertation on sundry themes, for a prayer. We certainly know of one of the weaker brethren, who, after his place of worship had been struck by lightning, in the midst of

his sermon, and killed one of his congregation, was requested to improve the occasion by prayer, in which he pursued his wonted track, and never even alluded to the sad event!

It is sufficient to observe, that the question involved, is a choice between forms, and not between forms and no forms. It is whether we will have well-devised, well-considered, and copious forms of devotion, embracing all the wants of humanity, temporal and spiritual, expressed in unexceptionable terms, adapted to the capacities of all, and offending the taste of none; or whether we shall have other forms, called extemporaneous, but always very limited in their scope, often crude and offensive, and sometimes shocking to cultivated minds. To escape from forms, is impossible. Shall we have good or bad forms? That is the question.

But we maintain, that a liturgy is favourable to the vitality of religion, the want of which is alleged against it; and more so than other modes. The vitality may not be quite so obvious to those who think there can be no religion where there is no noise, no outbreak, no public bursts of feeling. Demonstrations of this sort, we think, are more matters of taste, than proofs of religion. Whether personal religion shall obtrude itself on the public, or be content in communing with God, is, we think, in both cases, very much a matter of taste, except, indeed, we seem to have something like a precept on the subject: "When thou prayest, enter into thy closet." There is an obtrusive, and there is an *obtrusive* religion—a religion that seeks publicity,

and a religion that avoids it. The latter will naturally have a deeper, though more quiet current in the soul.

Aversion to excitement is a part of the genius of the American Episcopal Church. She prefers the even tenor of religious life, public and private. Her members do not only resort to the public offices of religion, to be instructed from the pulpit, but to be edified by the Book which they carry in their hands, which is publicly used there, and the rich treasures of which can never be exhausted. That is their manual of doctrine and of devotion, in connexion with the inspired volume, the greater part of which is there also in the daily lessons. They find enough to occupy them there. Their religion is inobtrusive, but not the less vital. It is all the more vital on that account. They find by experience, that a liturgy, in the public worship of the Church, protects them from all the distractions of extemporaneous incoherences, and that it is always instructive, and always edifying, where the religious appetite may be fully satisfied, and never led astray. Hence their attachment to it, which never diminishes, but is always on the increase. They rarely leave it for extemporaneous modes of worship ; whereas the largest growth of the American Episcopal Church consists of her constant accessions from that quarter, which, to say the least, is a strong presumptive evidence in favour of a liturgy.

The forms and ceremonies of the American Episcopal Church, as practised from her origin hitherto, were designed, as in all cases forms and ceremonies

should be, to be aids of devotion, and to promote the vitality of religion. Indeed, the only vindication of set forms and prescribed ceremonies in the Church, is, that they assist vital religion, and contribute to its growth ; and it is easy to show, that such is their effect, so long as they are not carried so far, as necessarily to become a study and an art, and to occupy the chief attention both of the performers and worshipers, as is the unavoidable effect of the histrionic arts of the Church of Rome. In the latter case, form and ceremony are a substitute for religion, instead of being employed as the means of exciting and promoting it in the soul. We admit, that a ceremonial will degenerate into formalism, where it is used and practised as an art, or where it requires all the attention of an art, to go through it properly, and to follow it up by those who attend upon it. In such a case, the very object of form and ceremony is prevented and superseded, by their own necessary effect. Was such the purpose of the ritual of the American Episcopal Church ? No, we think not ; no, every true American Churchman will respond. The forms and ceremonies of our Church were never introduced as an art. God forbid. But they were designed to promote the interests of vital religion in the soul, and such, rightly used, is their effect ; and it is believed that they are the best means of promoting true religion, because they regulate devotion, and guide the thoughts to God and Heaven, without study and without effort. It is this effect which demonstrates the perfection of a Christian ritual. Man, in all *spiritual matters*, is a sluggish being, is ever disposed to

be erratic in his thoughts, and to imbibe error, when error is offered. Hence he requires the guidance and assistance of a well appointed liturgy, and of well ordered offices of religion, such as the American Episcopal Church has provided.

We desire here to say a word on what we have often thought of, and which, we think, is worthy of more attention in our theological seminaries, and by the clergy generally, than is usually given to it, viz.: the *manner of performing* the appointed services of the Church. The service itself, as all who are acquainted with it admit, is one of great perfection, notwithstanding it might still be improved. It cannot, however, but be seen, that its effect upon the public mind, and upon the minds of individuals, must depend very much upon the *manner* of its performance. To be a good *reader* of the service, is commonly thought to be a high attainment; and we shall not deny it. • But to be a good *prayer* of the prayers we also think, is a matter of no small importance. The service is a fixed one, and no study bestowed upon it, to produce its proper effect, can ever be lost. To give the full and intended expression to every part of it, by an appropriate elocution, and by varying the tones of voice and manner of enunciation, as the sentiment or subject suggests and naturally requires, is worthy of a life of devoted study. Who will not agree that the prayers should be *prayed*; and prayed devoutly and earnestly? And are they not sometimes badly *read*? Ought they ever to be read, as if it were *mere reading*? The tones and manner of prayer are not naturally those of reading.

There is, undoubtedly, a great difference, in the natural mode of elocution, between the two things. Why, then, should not this difference be studied and executed properly? If the clergyman should commit the morning and evening prayers to memory, and the communion office, and burial service, and other parts most commonly used, so that he could throw his whole soul into the parts, as he goes along, without being embarrassed with the mechanical habit of casting his eyes upon the page to collect the sentences, or parts of sentences, would it not give him a great advantage for the best effect on the worshipers, in the use of the service? And should he not so study the whole service, and become so familiar with it, that he could not fail to give the proper tone and expression to every part? The reading of the lessons, too, is a part of the service, which ought to have very special attention. The Bible may be read so as to produce very little effect, merely for defects of elocution; and it may be read so as to enforce and enchain the attention of hearers, that each one shall feel, as if it was all *to* and *for* himself. Is not the latter effect desirable, and the means of it worthy of cultivation? There is, doubtless, room enough for improvement in the *performance* of the service of the Church, to give them an entire new character, in the use of precisely the same parts, and the same words; an improvement worthy of the attention of every clergyman, but more especially of candidates for orders. It is not the *increase* of ceremony that is wanted; but the right and best use of services already *appointed*, and long in practice. Here is a field that

can never be exhausted: No clergyman could ever arrive at a degree of perfection in this study, where improvement would not still be open before him. It is a matter of sufficient importance, we think, for a separate professorship in a theological seminary. For it cannot be denied, that the effect of the appointed services of the Church must depend on the *manner* of performing them, and consequently, that teaching and learning in this department of study, are of the greatest importance. In the Church of Rome, which depends chiefly on ceremony and histrionic exhibitions, a sing-song performance of the service appointed to be read in an unknown tongue, may answer their purpose; but not so in a service appointed for instruction and devotion, and which occupies so important a place in the public offices of religion, as does the liturgy of the American Episcopal Church.

Nor should it be forgotten, that *preaching* occupies a pre-eminent position in the appointed offices of the Church. There is danger, perhaps, at a time when a disposition to make much of ceremony prevails, that preaching should be thrown into the back ground, and deemed of small comparative importance. This, we think, would be a very unfortunate result. Preaching was the original function of the Apostles. When first they rose up to preach the Gospel, there was no liturgy; no established Christian rites; no Church, except in the family of twelve men, as first constituted by Christ himself. Their preaching on the day of Pentecost, so far as appears, was the first and only service of the Church; and the first fruit of that day's service, by the descent of the Holy Ghost, was "about three

thousand" converts, who were the same day received into the church, and made members thereof, by baptism. "And the Lord added to the Church daily," by the same instrumentality. The Christian Church was founded and spread over the world by preaching. From that time to this, preaching has ever been a prominent and leading office of the Christian ministry. It is first and highest. It preceded all other offices, and is ever the LIVING ORACLE. The preacher is the organ of Divine truth to men's minds and hearts. He is the priest between God and man. He brings the message of peace and reconciliation; propounds it; explains the record; calls the sinner to repentance, and instructs and guides the saint on his way to heaven. As the Spirit of God honoured the first preaching of the Apostles, to make and multiply disciples, so does he ever employ the same agency for the same object. All other rites and usages of the Church were subsequent to this, and grew out of it. All others were ordained to make this effective.

"There stands the messenger of truth; there stands
The legate of the skies. His theme divine;
His office sacred; his credentials clear.
By him the violated law speaks out
Its thunders; and by him, in strains as sweet
As angels use, the Gospel whispers peace."

CHAPTER XII.

THE GENIUS OF THE AMERICAN EPISCOPAL CHURCH AS EXEMPLIFIED IN HER SPIRIT OF ACCOMMODATION TO THE GENIUS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

WE have the highest authority for accommodation in all things non-essential, "for the Gospel's sake." "Though I be free from all men, yet have I made myself servant unto all, that I might gain the more: Unto the Jews, I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews; to them that are under the law, as under the law, that I might gain them that are under the law; to them that are without law, as without law, (being not without law to God, but under the law to Christ), that I might gain them that are without law. To the weak became I as weak, that I might gain the weak. I am made all things to all men, that I might by all means save some. And this I do *for the Gospel's sake.*" (1 Cor. ix. 19—23.) This, certainly, is an accommodation sufficiently broad for all purposes, and an authority sufficiently high to command respect.

We have seen in the history of the organization of the American Episcopal Church, her evident purpose to accommodate her polity to the genius of the American people; and we have also seen, that the practical operation of that polity hitherto, has fully sustained that purpose. If it should be said, that all this was

partly accidental, it cannot be maintained that it was entirely so; and even as a comprehensive accident of history, growing out of forcing circumstances, it is equally instructive to the same point, and not less worthy of regard. But rescue it entirely from being a result of the purpose of man, it was yet in the hands of men as instruments of Providence; and as such, considering the evident wisdom thereof, as revealed by time, it is even more worthy of our respect. But we shall not readily consent so to stultify the fathers of the American Church. It was evidently their distinct purpose, and what is more, as we believe, it was the purpose of God for the wisest and best ends.

It cannot be out of the mind of any person of the scantiest information, how the world had for centuries been shocked with the arrogance and abominations of the Church of Rome, and no people felt it more than the great majority of the British North American colonists. And it happened unfortunately, that the administration of the Church of England in the colonies, for want of bishops as a principal cause, was not the purest—so far from it, that the people outside of her pale, in the colonies, scarcely made a difference between the Church of England and the Church of Rome. Their prejudices, doubtless, as in all such cases, run into an extreme; but they were not altogether without cause. Such prejudices as certainly have a cause, as they are more or less unreasonable. It was for this cause, that the Church of England was entirely broken down in the state of *Virginia*, and that, since her re-organization as an

American Church, she has not even yet regained the full confidence of that commonwealth; but she still labours under many grievous disadvantages on that account. The clerical robes used in the offices of the Church—which, it must be confessed, are rather decencies than essentials—were for a long period, and still are to some extent, scouted as “rags of Popery.” The clergy of the Episcopal Church in Virginia, after the American Revolution, were for the most part, obliged to dispense with their clerical vestments altogether, and some of them, to convince the people how little they regarded these robes as essential, are said—we cannot vouch for the fact—to have appeared, discharging the offices of the Church and of the pulpit, in a round jacket, without skirts! That, doubtless, would be regarded as an extreme of accommodation; but, if it was ever done, we cannot say it was not done from a good, and even a commendable purpose, “to those without law, as without law, but under the law to Christ.” To this day, there are many Episcopal churches in Virginia—whether the majority we know not—where the surplice cannot be used without offence, and where the clergy pay respect to this feeling—we think wisely. What is the object of the Christian ministry but to “gain some,” and as many as possible, by all legitimate means, negative or positive. In the same spirit of accommodation, as we suppose, we once saw Bishop Hobart officiating in Western New York, robed in nothing but the common garb of a layman. It was, as we supposed at the time, because most of his audience belonged to other deno-

minations of Christian, who would have been more impressed by his official robes, if he had worn them, than by his sermon and other offices. How often Bishop Hobart did the same thing for like reasons, we are unable to say ; bet we have no doubt, that he was always more scrupulous for doing good, than for conforming to non-essentials. He was "all things to all men," an accomplished tactician in the employment of his personal influence, as well as a model bishop, never sacrificing the proprieties and dignity of his office, but always accommodating.

The American Episcopal Church was forced, in her organization, and in the administration of her worship and discipline, to accommodate herself to the genius, and even to consider the prejudices of the American people. It was at least a matter of great prudence to do so. If she had not done it, her chance of doing good would have been slender. The prejudices were too strong against her, and they are not overcome to this day, possibly never will be. A common objection still made, and one of great influence, is, that her modes of worship are too diverse, too formal, too much like those of the Church of Rome, and that, too, before the recent novelties, multiplying forms, and diversifying modes, still more like the Church of Rome, were introduced in some of our churches. It was, we think, a distinct aim of the fathers of the American Episcopal Church, and we think, too, that it has been the aim of the great majority of her bishops and clergy since the time of the fathers—we mean not the ancient fathers, *but our own*—to secure and maintain the greatest

simplicity of worship possible, consistent with the great and overruling purpose of a Church with a liturgy; and this in accommodation to the genius and prejudices of the people to be gained and operated upon. A church does not exist for itself alone, or chiefly, but for the world around it. Its mission is to the world, and if it does not gain the world, its mission fails of its great end. If it fails for want of adaptation in the means employed, so far as they consist in non-essentials, it is a fault of a grave character. If it fails for insisting on non-essentials, in the face of an experience of their inutility, or of their operation as obstacles, it is a yet graver fault. And more than all, peradventure, is it a fault, to introduce novel, it may be, obnoxious non-essentials—obnoxious, we mean, to the genius of the American people—and force them into use, against custom, on the responsibility of individuals, for the gratification of their fancy or their taste, without the general sanction or consent of the Church. Clearly, this is not in accordance with the genius of the American Episcopal Church, which has taken so much care to abstain from an excess of ceremony, and sanctioned only that which was regarded as suited to her liturgical observances and other appointed rites; which, indeed, has dispensed with some prescribed usages and forms, or left them to the discretion of the officiating clergyman, in accommodation to the prejudices of the people.

But history, we are told, is philosophy teaching by example; and we have a most instructive chapter on this subject in the history of the Church of Eng-

land. No one, we think, can examine that history attentively, without seeing, that the great body of schism with which that Church was for centuries afflicted, under the names of Nonconformity, Puritanism, and Dissent, ramifying into many other minor sections, was principally occasioned by insisting on non-essentials, chiefly of a ceremonial character. Elizabeth was stubbornly vicious in these matters, and her conduct gave birth to swarms of Nonconformists, to her own personal vexation, and to the great injury of the Church. Her severe treatment of Nonconformists was the beginning of a schism in the Church of England, chiefly on account of ceremony, which finally overturned both Church and State, and which has ramified into various forms, annoying and afflicting the Church ever since.

Charles the First was another eminent example of imprudence in this particular, and his rashness brought himself and Archbishop Laud to the scaffold—all for ceremony, all for non-essentials in religion! For this was the kernel of the difficulties, although more grave matters became involved. When controversies in society have once been started, with an excited temper between the parties, they naturally tend to aggravation in form and matter. Bishop Short says: “It was madness to suppose, that the enforcing them (these ceremonies) would cure the evil (of Nonconformity), or fail to irritate and augment the disorder. Pure Christianity, when placed near fanaticism or formalism, will ordinarily soon gain the ascendant over either the one or the other; but extremes are little likely to produce a cure to their opposite evils.” (§ 569.)

Like causes, though operating in different forms, invariably produce like results, though the results may also have a different shape. It would be lamentable, indeed, if, failing to be instructed by this portion of English history, the American Episcopal Church should seek to revive those very ceremonies which the people of England, though long accustomed to them, could not endure, and which the Church of England, in the lapse of ages, had laid aside, not by neglect, but from expediency, and by a vital necessity. It cannot be denied, that the reasons for not adopting them in the United States, are much more potent than the reasons for laying them aside in England. Here they cannot be imposed, and therefore will produce no convulsion. But it should not be forgotten, that, introduced and practised here, they must necessarily pass under the severe ordeal of public opinion ; and the same instincts of the common mind, which denounced and overthrew them in England, will denounce them here, and put an effectual bar in the way of the growth of that Church which may adopt them. For an effect of this kind, in no small degree alarming, already produced by the partial revival of those usages in a portion of the American Episcopal Church, see the Note in the following chapter, page 237, and the remarks thereupon.

We think he would be a bold Churchman, who should say, with the lights of history shining upon him, that these usages are vital parts of the Church. And if it shall appear, that they have proved vital misfortunes to the Church of England, and that they are becoming so to the American Episcopal Church, is it not a

weighty responsibility to seek to revive them? If the people of England, who had ever been used to rather an excess of ceremony in the Church, could ill brook the appointed ritual, and made such quarrel with Charles I., for enforcing these customs, as to upset the Church and State together, can it be expected, that the American Episcopal Church will prosper among the American people by a similar course? If the conscience of the people of England was so much offended at the introduction, in the ritual and other observances of the Church, of what they regarded as histrionic exhibitions, can it be supposed, that the taste of the American people is so much improved, as to be ready to entertain similar things!

It cannot be denied, it is well known as a prominent historical fact, that the Americans are less impressed, and less attracted by much ceremony in religion, than any other people in the world. Besides that they are prejudiced against it, because it is always associated with the history of the Church of Rome, they have not generally a taste for it. They are a practical, matter-of-fact people, and wish to come at the thing, without its being incumbered with signs. They can endure ceremony—pity if it should be merely an endurance—but they are never won by it. How rarely is a convert made from the Protestant to the papal faith? And one of the chief reasons probably is, that Protestants are generally disgusted, rather than charmed, by the numerous ceremonial observances and rites of the Church of Rome. It is true, they strike the imagination forcibly, and they are well adapted to unthinking, *unreasoning* minds; and now and then, where imagina-

tion is the ruling faculty of the mind, a convert is made from Protestantism. Such, we doubt not, will be found to be the true philosophy of nearly all such cases. It is, therefore, as we think, the greatest mistake in philosophy to suppose, that the American Episcopal Church wants more ceremony. Every where, within the range of our own personal observation, especially in the country where taste is less artificial, ceremony is the greatest obstacle she has to contend with, in acting on the American mind. The very suggestion of this idea will no doubt strike most persons, as accordant with their own observation. It is true, undoubtedly, that people become attached to the ceremonial of the Episcopal Church, when they get used to it ; and it is equally true, that they who have been accustomed to little ceremony in religion, are not naturally attracted by the Episcopal service. It is prudent, therefore, to consider this last named fact, if we desire the enlargement of the Church, and well to be content with our time-honoured and long-established service, without introducing novelties in the ceremonies, borrowed from a history which is no part of the history of our own Church.

The mission of the American Episcopal Church is to the American people, and nothing could be more philosophical than to adapt its ceremonial, as well as its polity, to the genius of that people ; and nothing, surely, could be more unphilosophical than to disregard the genius of the people in these arrangements. Some may say, let us know where the path of duty lies, and if we go in it, let the people receive or reject us, our skirts are clear. This is very well as to all

things vital to Christianity, and to the truths of the Gospel; but in things indifferent, in the ways and means of accomplishing the ends of Christianity, the question of duty has entirely a different aspect. It is not to ascertain a thing given, and then to take and use it, without farther question, as in a truth of the Gospel; but it is to select out of things given, the best means of accomplishing a given end. It is very much wanting in wisdom to say, I will take that means, and no other, without regard to what is best; and to make a matter of conscience of it, is getting up a conscience for the occasion, where conscience has no legitimate domain. It is a mere matter of judgment.

The mission of the American Episcopal Church, to the American people, is one of lofty import, of boundless scope, and of interminable prospect, if rightly begun, as it doubtless was, and rightly conducted, as it has been hitherto. But a passion to augment its ceremonial, indulged in, encouraged, and finally sanctioned, will, we fear, disappoint that mission for ever, and be a virtual surrender of the field to some more prudent and far-seeing instrumentality.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE NOVELTIES RECENTLY INTRODUCED INTO PORTIONS OF THE AMERICAN EPISCOPAL CHURCH, AS THEY AFFECT HER GENIUS, HER PROSPECTS, AND THE SIMPLICITY AND UNIFORMITY OF HER WORSHIP.

It was not to be expected—it was impossible in the course we have marked out for this volume, under the title which defines our general subject—that we should overlook so prominent and so important a subject in Church history, as that which is now to be considered.

The American Episcopal Church being independent, we regard it as a self-evident proposition, not requiring argument, that no authority can be adduced for her own regime, doctrine, and usages, which cannot be found within herself, from or after the date of her organization. This is what we mean by the term, *unauthorized*, in the tenth proposition laid down page 158, which is clearly indicated in the qualifying words, *by the Church*. In this view, and with this explanation, it is not to be regarded as the expression of an opinion, but as a simple statement of fact, from which, we suppose, no party concerned would dissent. The purpose of stating the fact, is simply to show the position which the novelties lately introduced in some of our churches, occupy, in relation to the authority of the Church; and no disre-

spect is here intended to those who practise them, because it is presumed that even they would not pretend to find authority for them in the American Episcopal Church. We do not mean to deny the authority alleged, or which we take for granted must be alleged ; or to aver, that any canons of the American Episcopal Church have been violated, for there is no legislation on the subject ; but only, that the responsibility for these changes devolves on those who have introduced and who practise them. It is clear, we think, that the authority for these practices lies back of the organization of the American Church, and outside of her pale. This is all we have proposed to establish on this point.

What has been the general practice of the American Church, is too well known to require a statement here ; and the author of these pages, was in England four years previous to 1835, attending all that time very frequently, all over England, more especially in London, the cathedral and other churches of the establishment, and he never witnessed, so far as he is able to recollect, a single one of these novelties, in the services of the Church of England. Certainly they were not out of mind as matters of history, but were then, and still are, witnessed every day in the public service of the Church of Rome. We conclude, therefore, from the desuetude into which they had so long passed, in the Church of England, that they were regarded as uncongenial to the Protestant character of that Church ; and that they were not rejected from neglect of duty, but for public reasons and sufficient cause. And when we

consider the extreme difficulty which the American branch of the Church encountered, as every one acquainted with that history must know, in adopting the present Prayer Book, on account of the excess, as then deemed, of the ritual and ceremonies prescribed ; and that the Church of England herself had laid aside many of the ceremonies retained after the Reformation, for the same reason, on account of which the American Church was reluctant to take what was then in use in the English Church : it is somewhat remarkable, that an attempt should now be made, both in the English and American Churches, to restore ceremonies, which the Church of England very much desired to lay aside at the Reformation, but could not conveniently, on account of the greatness of the change ; which, for the same reasons, she had gradually dropped ; which, if they had been proposed at the organization of the American branch, would, doubtless, have been universally rejected ; and which, as we believe, are as much against the taste of the American mind now as then. However they may be prescribed in the old standards and canon law of the Church of England, they are certainly not prescribed, either in the polity or rubrics of the American Church.

In our seventh proposition, page 157, is presented a principle applicable to this subject, the validity of which, we think, will not be questioned by fair minds, viz., that we cannot go outside of our own Church for authority for its usages. So long as there is no legislation in the Church on the subject of these new practices, they rest on the responsibility of those who

adopt them. But they cannot plead the authority of the Church, nor any authority within the Church other than that which is personal to themselves. It is true, we speak of literary, scientific, and other authorities, which are held in respect, according to their comparative merits, in the classes to which they belong ; but this is not the kind of authority that will pass current in the matter now under consideration, except only in the same sense. And we are not aware, that it will be claimed in any other sense. How can it be ? What, then, does it amount to ?

Whence these changes ? No one can doubt that they originated in the Oxford Tractarian school. And what have been the fruits of that school ? Troops of the clergy and laity of the Church of England have gone over to Rome, and other troops are following. Numbers of the clergy and laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, have also gone the same way, and are still going. One of the most prominent and most influential leaders of this movement, in the United States, Bishop Ives, (who has also gone to Rome,) confessed publicly, in a document addressed to the Convention of North Carolina, in 1851, "that it had been at one time a very favourite idea with him to bring about a union of the Roman, the Greek, the Anglican, and the American Churches." Was ever one so weak as to imagine, that the Church of Rome would concede any thing ; or meet half way ; or move a single inch towards these other Churches ; or that the latter would not have to march the whole distance, and fall *into the arms* of the former, to accomplish a union ?

Whether volunteered or required, we know not ; but we are now informed, that Bishop Ives, when ~~he~~ was received into the Church of Rome, confessed to "rebellion" against the Pope while he acted as a Protestant bishop.

The results of the Oxford school, in England, now constitute a class of well ascertained facts, of a definite character, all tending one way, and that to Rome ; and the same influences have produced the same effect in the United States.

It is a subject of congratulation, certainly, that many of those who have favoured this movement, and been prominent and influential in it, but with no purpose of favouring the Church of Rome, have seen the necessity of trying to prevent the consequences, and laboured hard to stop those who were going over to Rome. But have they begun at the right end ? Have they laid the axe at the root of the tree ? If not, they are only lopping off a branch here and there, and the tree will still fructify, and bear its evil fruit. While the tree stands in the chancels of our churches, overshadowing our altars, can the work of prevention be fully accomplished ? We know how highly men prize the jewel of consistency, and how hard it is to throw it away, even when duty may seem to require it.

Let it not be supposed, that the remarks of this chapter apply to improvements in Church architecture, or to stained glass with designs. We should be glad to see the study of Church architecture go on to perfection. Nor are they intended to apply to the new arrangements in the chancels of our churches,

which, for the most part, seem to us suitable, and a great improvement. We should be heartily glad to see all the pulpit tubs of Christendom floating on the surface of the great deep, never to be gathered up again. Nor do we object to the highest degree of improvement in the character, style, and performance of Church music. It is a heavenly art, and fit to be cultivated by angels. The chants of the American Episcopal Church are among the most inspiring parts of her service. The *Te Deum* occasionally and well performed by the choir, is elevating in its influence, and rarely fails to excite, as intended, the loftiest adoration of the Deity, a sublime sense of the offices of the Son of God, and a fellowship with angels, with the Prophets, with the Apostles, and with "the noble Army of Martyrs." And an occasional performance of the Psalter, or portions of it, by the choir, is not unacceptable to us personally.

But who will not feel, that every thing approaching the *histrionic* art in the Church, is unsuitable? In the Church of Rome, all the world expects to see it. Who takes pains to spend Holy Week in Rome, but for the sake of a histrionic exhibition, on a scale of dazzling magnificence? And who ever returned from the spectacle a more penitent sinner, or a more humble believer in Jesus Christ? Is it not a play over which, while men admire, angels might weep, because it is enacted in the sanctuary of God, under the sanction of "the Primate of all Christendom," his priesthood being the actors?

To draw the line between the purely histrionic and the appropriately symbolic in religion, may be

difficult. This, however, is the line, which we wish to find, in the subject now under consideration. Symbols in religion there must be. None can speak against them, because all must have them. Are not the Christian Sacraments symbolic, besides being something more? Every form of Divine worship, in every Christian denomination, however simple, is yet symbolic. The Puritan, who stands before God, with uplifted face, closed eyes, stretched out arms, or clasped hands, praying to heaven, is, in spite of himself, a living and an expressive symbol. The Quaker, sitting demure in his meeting-house, with a drab coat fashioned in a peculiar manner, and with hat on his head, is an impressive symbol of his religion. The Churchman, who, like the Quaker, imagines that churchmanship consists, at least in part, in the appointments of his private wardrobe, is a symbol of his profession as he walks the street.

But there are symbols ordered in the services of the American Episcopal Church, such as the sign of the Cross in baptism, when not objected to by him who brings the child. In the consecration of the elements at the Lord's Supper, the priest is required, while in the act of prayer or consecration, to employ five different symbols or signs successively, all of which are significant of the events alluded to. The kneeling of the priest and people in prayer, and standing in singing, as ordered by the rubrics, are symbolic. The rising of the priest to pronounce the absolution, while the people are still kneeling, is symbolic; and so the priest, kneeling at the reading desk, at the

Communion table, and in the pulpit, before and after certain services, to pray in silence, is symbolic, as well as an act of devotion. The same may be said of many other acts and ceremonies prescribed and in use in the services of the Church.

But where shall we find the line between the histrionic and that in religion which is appropriately symbolic? Apart from sacred song, which is necessarily an art, and so far as ministerial acts of devotion are concerned—and this is the important point—we think there cannot be much difficulty in finding that line. The instincts of our nature always give a true account, in all their teachings, and for that reason their verdict is invariably worthy of respect. Our conscience is an instinct—is it not? Our sense of humility, in the presence of God, is another—both, indeed, of a religious character. Would not these feelings, and others akin to them, in the minds of Protestant Christians of our age and country, naturally be offended at the exhibition of diversified acts of pantomime in the offices of a minister of religion, to represent his own devotions, and to excite the devotions of the people? And yet, if we mistake not, this is precisely the question now on trial. Who will deny, that the new customs, consisting of certain acts, movements, and positions of the officiating minister, within, and sometimes without the chancel, are intended for effect on the congregation through the eye? If not, why employ them? And if such is the purpose, are they not histrionic? In other words, is it not stage effect?

And where is it to stop? * These novelties have been increasing among us in number and variety for years, and every year adds to them, in one place or another. It is not denied, that authority for them all may be found in past history, but certainly not in the American Episcopal Church. They may all be found in the ceremonies of the Church of Rome.

* We lately saw an archdeacon of the English Church—of the Oxford School, we presume—officiating in one of our churches, in which the only inclination of the head or bow customarily made, was at the name of Jesus Christ in the Apostles' Creed. But the archdeacon, during the whole service, whenever the names and titles of Christ occurred, turned to the Communion table and made a very low bow; and during his sermon he did the same reverence at the name of Christ, though he had not room in the pulpit to bow so low. In the ascription at the close of his sermon, he turned entirely round, faced the wall—the pulpit being attached to the wall, the angle of which was between him and the Communion table—and bowed as he pronounced the name of the second person of the Trinity. As before noticed, these practices have grown up in the Church of England, within a few years, and doubtless came on by degrees. Are we travelling the same road? And where is to be the end of it? In the Church of Rome? The archdeacon, as must be confessed, had his authority in the 18th canon of 1603, in which will be found the following clause: "And likewise when, in time of Divine service, the Lord Jesus shall be mentioned, due and lowly reverence shall be done by all persons present, as it hath been accustomed." This custom, however, as we believe, had ceased in the Church of England for ages, till recently revived by the Oxford school. We do not know whether the archdeacon felt conscientiously bound to practise these bows in an American Church, and to wear his Doctor's hood. If so, we have nothing to say. But it struck us at the time, that he might have used his discretion, and dispensed with these exhibitions, when he must have known, that they would naturally attract attention, to the detriment of edification and instruction.

Is the purpose to go on in such conformity, till the *Protestant* Episcopal Church in the United States shall have as much ceremony as that of Rome, that its histrionic effect may be equally great? We have churches already, which, in some respects, have outstripped the ordinary service of the Church of Rome, and which will intone the ritual, and practice antiphonal chants, in as fine a style, as was ever done in a monastery, and probably better, as the hoarse voices of the monks were never reputed musical; and the novelty of these practices in a Protestant church, has attracted considerable attention, which, possibly, is put down for their good effect. As a histrionic exhibition, it is doubtless interesting. But it is to be feared, that the audiences, for the most part, retire as from a show, rather than with religious edification.

We have said, that common feeling will best draw the line between appropriate symbols in religion and histrionic exhibitions. If people go away from the exhibition of these novelties in an American Episcopal Church, and say, they can see little or no difference between them and the services of the Church of Rome, it is a practical commentary, full of instruction. It is common and general impressions of this kind, that will decide the character of every Church with the public, and attract to or repel from its services and communion; and it should never be forgotten, that the American people are not at bottom a ceremony loving people, in religion or in any thing else, but the contrary. In large cities there will always be imaginative persons enough to be

attracted by new things ; but it is the great mass of the American mind, on which an American Church should aim to be effective in its administrations. What clergyman would think it well to introduce these practices in a country church ? Yet such an experiment would be the true test of their character.

The Church of England has well said, in the preface to her Book of Common Prayer :—" Christ's Gospel is not a ceremonial law ; but a religion to serve God, not in the bondage of the figure or shadow, but in the freedom of the spirit, being content only with those ceremonies which do serve to a decent order and godly discipline."

It is not that art should be entirely excluded from public worship, that these remarks are made. Singing is an art, and an exalted one. Preaching is an art, and most important. But devotion is not an art, and never can be. It is deeper, more profound than art. Acting a part can in no way represent devotion. Acting a part to represent the soul holding converse with God, is solemn mockery. If it should be said, that kneeling is acting a part, we say, not in the histrionic sense of the terms. It is the mode which nature suggests and approves, in all such acts. In public worship, there ought to be uniformity in acts of devotion, both for the officiating minister and for the people ; because public worship is designed to express, not only individual, but common feeling. Private worship is different, because the individual often has occasion to express feelings peculiar to himself. He may sometimes be constrained to fall prostrate on his face, as David and other saints of

old did, and weep, and cry out to God, for his sins ; which he confesses there, but would not, perhaps should not, tell to others. In addition to the appropriate services of the closet, the individual may worship any where, in the house or by the way, in any position and in any posture, when his feelings are so inclined. He worships in nature's temple, when he looks up and says devoutly : " The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth his handy work." But convenience and edification require uniformity in public worship, else there might be confusion and distraction ; but such uniformity does not, we think, require the histrionic enactment of a part.

There are certain simple and uniform modes which have been in use in the American Episcopal Church from time immemorial, for the officiating minister and for the people, such as, for all to kneel and pray, on coming into Church ; for the minister to kneel and pray by himself at the opening of service, and at other times ; for the congregation to kneel in prayer, and to stand in singing ; and for communicants to kneel around the chancel, with their heads leaning forward on the rail.* These customs are decent,

* " It was declared," in Edward the Sixth's time, says Bishop Burnet, (Part II., Book I.) " that that gesture was kept up as a most reverent and humble way of expressing our great sense of the mercies of God in the death of Christ there communicated to us ; but that thereby there was no adoration intended to the bread and wine, which was gross idolatory." Mr. Staunton, in his Dictionary of the Church, says ;—" So scrupulously has the Church guarded herself against this error of the Romanists, that, in the Prayer Book of the Church of England, a protestation is

impressive, edifying. But who has authorized these novelties? Is it not a study, an art, to go through them all, *à la mode*? Take, for example, the clergyman, approaching the Communion table, and kneeling on a lower step, or at distance from the table, with his head inclined towards it, and his hands brought together. Is it not a study? Is it not as much a piece of art as any statue of a like kind? And where did it come from? What is the purpose of it? Is it not purely for effect, through the eyes of the congregation? And as such, is it not histrionic? Or, is it to express the feeling of the officiating minister, or such as he ought to have at the moment? If the former, the feeling cannot always be the same, and the mode should vary, or it is sometimes at least a false show. If the latter, and he has not the feeling, it is still a false show.

Like criticisms may be made on all these novelties, practised within and around the chancel, such as turning the back on the congregation, as if God were more at the place where the Communion table is, than

appended to the Communion Office, to meet an objection sometimes urged against kneeling at the reception of the Eucharist. After stating that 'this attitude is here adopted to signify our humble and grateful acknowledgment of the benefits of Christ therein given to all worthy receivers,' it is added, 'yet, lest the same kneeling should by any persons, either out of ignorance and infirmity, or out of malice or obstinacy, be misconstrued and depraved, it is hereby declared, that thereby *no adoration is intended or ought to be done*, either unto the sacramental bread or wine thus bodily received, or unto any corporal presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood. For the sacramental bread and wine *remain still in their very natural substances, and therefore may not be adored; for that were idolatry, to be abhorred by all faithful Christians.*'"

elsewhere. The rubric in the Communion service, preceding the Trisagion and its "proper preface," viz., "then shall the priest turn to the Lord's Table, and say," has, as will be seen, two relations, first to the position of the priest prescribed in the rubric for the absolution, "turning to the people," and next to the appropriate office of the Communion which it orders for this place. The rubric for consecrating the elements directs the priest to "stand *before* the Table," a case of apparent necessity, certainly of convenience—not with his back to the congregation, but "that he may with more readiness and decency break the bread and take the cup into his hands *before* the people." These two are the only rubrics in the Prayer Book, directing the priest to take a similar position, and the reasons are obvious; which, as we conceive, is equivalent to a rule, that, in no other parts of this office, or of other services prescribed in the Prayer Book, shall the same position be taken. The priests of the Church of Rome worship toward the Altar, because, according to their doctrine of transubstantiation, the body and blood of Christ are there as a real sacrifice. This, we suppose, is the sole reason of the practice in that Church; and consequently it is the origin of the practice. The priest of the American Episcopal Church, therefore, in turning to worship toward the Communion table, except in the cases above mentioned, would seem, either not well informed as to the origin of the practice, or to be involved in an obvious inconsistency; for, in the first place, the consecrated elements are not on the Communion table, except on the occasion of Commu-

nion ; and in the next place, the doctrine of transubstantiation is not received, but rejected by his Church. (*Articles of Religion*, xxviii.) For what reason, then, should he turn and worship towards the Communion table ? And does he not thereby sanction an error of the Church of Rome ?*

* The following extracts from articles drawn up on this subject by Bishop Shaxton, of Sarum, England, (who having been a Reformer, under Henry the Eighth, went back to Rome under Edward VI.) will, perhaps, fairly exhibit the faith of that Church, in the matter of Transubstantiation, and show the reason of worshipping towards the Altar :—

“ Almighty God, by the power of his word, pronounced by the priest at Mass, in the consecration, turneth the bread and wine into the natural body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, so that, after the consecration, there remaineth no substance of bread and wine, but only the substance of Christ, God and man. The same blessed sacrament, being once consecrate, is, and remaineth still, the very body and blood of our Saviour Christ, although it be reserved, and not presently distributed. The same blessed sacrament being consecrate, *is, and ought to be worshiped and adored* with godly honour, wherever it is, forasmuch as it is the body of Christ inseparably united to the Deity. The Church, by the ministration of the priest, offereth daily at the Mass, for a sacrifice to Almighty God, the self-same body and blood of our Saviour Christ, under the form of bread and wine. . . . It is the self-same in substance which was offered upon the cross for our redemption.”—(*Burnet, Part I. of Records, Book III.*)

Here, doubtless, we have the origin and reason of worshipping towards the Altar, and it is consistent with a belief in the doctrine of transubstantiation, as above explained by Bishop Shaxton. But we need not say, that this doctrine is rejected by all Protestant Churches, and by the American Episcopal Church. It was one of the great points of the Protestant Reformation. And yet some of our clergy turn and worship towards the Communion table, in the manner of the Church of Rome, as if the

Again : Bowing, making the sign of the Cross, and praying silently over the oblation, when laid upon the Communion table—is not that adding to the services of the Church ? And again : The practices of describing given lines and angles, by movements within the chancel, of taking up studied positions and attitudes, and of making studied genuflexions, all have the appearance of art. To these may be added, intoning the service, as is sometimes practised, the original purpose of which would seem to have been, to make the prayers attractive among the uncultivated, by reciting them in a species of monotonous song. And lastly, antiphonal chants, after the manner of the monks, the claims of which, certainly, are very remote from those of good music, or from being capable of affording pleasure as an art.

The truth is, devotion, in our addresses to the Divine Being, can never be expressed by devices of art. Devotion, left to itself, would rarely be expressed twice in succession, by precisely the same mode. In public worship, however, there must be uniformity for common edification. But multiply devices in mode unnecessarily, and they become a study, an art, and the effect is that of art, instead of promoting edification in the more exalted themes of religion, and in acts of Divine worship.

But there is yet a more serious aspect of these new practices appertaining to the ordination vows,

body and blood of Christ, were there. It is to be hoped they do not *mean* by that, a disposition to recognize the doctrine of *transubstantiation*.

as taken by every candidate for holy orders. If the sign of the Cross in Baptism, if the signs prescribed to be used in the consecration of the elements in the Communion service, and many other ceremonies ordered in the rubrics, are parts of the services of the Church, as doubtless they are, then clearly those novelties of which we have been speaking, are *additions* to the services. And what is the second ordination vow! "I do solemnly engage to *conform* to the doctrines and *worship* of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States." If the sense of *conformity* in this vow, cannot be construed to justify an *excess* in the services, any more than an omission of a part of them, how can these novelties, which are in fact *additions* to "the worship of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States," as practised from the beginning, be justified to a good conscience? In the 16th canon of 1603, of the English Church, it is ordered, that, "in the whole Divine service, the order, form, and ceremonies shall be duly observed, as they are set down and prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, *without any omission or alteration;*" also in the 14th canon, "*without diminishing or adding any thing in the matter or form thereof.*" Although this is not binding on the American Church, it doubtless involves a principle common to both Churches, and applies to the subject now under consideration. "*Without alteration,*" which of course includes *additions*.*

* If these novelties should go on increasing, as they have done of late in some of our Churches, approximating gradually and apparently towards a Mass service, the time may come, when the

We may be wrong, but we have feared, that this willingness, in some portions of our Church, to adopt new ceremonies, such as are used in the Church of Rome, might gradually lead those who practise them

following injunction of the Bishop of London, under Edward the Sixth, or something like it, may pertinently apply elsewhere, and in a quarter little to have been expected:—"That no minister do counterfeit the Popish Mass, in kissing the Lord's board; washing his hands or fingers after the Gospel, or the receipt of the holy communion; shifting the book from one place to another; holding up the forefingers; laying down and licking the chalice after communion; blessing his eyes with the sudarie thereof, or paten, or crossing his head with the same; holding his forefingers and thumbs joined together, towards the temples of his head, after the receiving of the sacrament; breathing on the bread or chalice; saying the *Agnus* before the communion; showing the sacrament openly before the distribution, or making any elevation thereof; ringing the sacring bell, or setting any light upon the Lord's board; and finally, that the minister, in the time of the holy communion, do use only the ceremonies and gestures appointed by the Book of Common Prayer, and none other, so that there do not appear in them any counterfeiting of the popish Mass." "What," says Bishop Burnet, (Preface to Part II.) "can we think of the superstition and idolatry of all the pomp of the Roman worship, but that, by these things the people are to be kept up in a gross notion of religion, as a splendid business and that the priests have a trick of saving them? What can we think of that constellation of prodigies in the sacrament of the altar, but that it is an art to bring the world by wholesale to renounce their reason and sense, and to have the most wonderful veneration for a sort of men, who can with a word perform the most astonishing thing that ever was." Again, says the Bishop, (in his Preface to Part III.) "The opinions of the sacrament's being an expiatory sacrifice, of the necessity of secret confession and absolution, and of the authority of the Church, were the foundations of popery, and the seminal principles, out of which that mass of corruption was formed."

into the atmosphere of that Church, till they should begin to entertain feelings of friendly regard for the Papal Communion, and ultimately go over. Has not that been precisely the history of the late defections from the Church of England, and from the American Episcopal Church, to the Church of Rome? And is there not a philosophy in it, explained by the introduction of these novelties? Uniform sequences, resulting from given antecedents, are the best evidences we have of the connection of cause and effect. The moment the American Episcopal Church introduces the histrionic arts into her services, she enters a field foreign to her appropriate domain, and is treading on the ground of the Church of Rome. By what easy and imperceptible degrees does the human mind, once adrift from its home, glide from one stage of change to another, till it is lost! Such, precisely, if we mistake not, has been the history of the late defections to the Church of Rome, from the Protestant Churches of England and of the United States. They begin with new ceremonies, gradually acquire a taste for them, and go on from one stage to another, till they are lost! This, we think, will be found to be history: and is it not instructive—admonitory?*

* The late denouement of Bishop Ives' doings in North Carolina is directly in point here. There we have the chapter concluded, with the legitimate end of these practices. The notable history, of *Valée Crucis*, and the somewhat less notable affair of the *Order of the Holy Cross*, of which Bishop Ives was the Superior, setting himself up, as we have understood, above all authority of the Church, so that his orders to the members under him, should be paramount to Episcopal authority in any diocese of the Protestant

We have never heretofore had any scruple in calling the Communion table an Altar, because, perhaps, we forgot, that words are sometimes things, and because we regarded it as an innocent metaphor. But if, indeed, there is a philosophy in it, gradually leading the minds of those who use it, to entertain the idea of a real sacrifice, not unlike that inculcated by the doctrine of transubstantiation, and if it is to be used as a stepping stone to the revival of an error of the Church of Rome so distinctly marked and renounced in the Protestant Reformation, we should pause in such an application of this term. It will be seen, in the injunction of the Bishop of London, to his clergy, given in a note, page 230, that he calls it "the Lord's board," meaning table, doubtless, as board is an ancient name for a festal table, or a table of hospitality. The Bishop evidently abstained from using the term Altar, as being a Papal denomination.*

Episcopal Church in the United States, are an instructive comment on the tendency of these new measures. We learn from *l'Univers*, a Roman Catholic paper published at Paris, that Bishop Ives had been for many months before he went to Rome, a penitent at the confessional of Dr. Forbes, of New York, and in communication with Archbishop Hughes. What other revelations are yet to be made of his plan of union between the Churches of Rome, of England, and of the United States, we know not. It is sufficient here to remark, that all these doings began with the introduction of the novelties now under consideration, and went on from step to step to their consummation in the Bishop's connecting himself with the Church of Rome. Some of his former presbyters had preceded him, and one went with him. It is to be hoped that will be the end of it.

* The word *Altar*, as applied to the Communion table, is nowhere used in our Book of Common Prayer, except in the Office

Doubtless all Protestant Churchmen would agree, that a sacrament is *invisibilis gratiæ visibilis forma*, a visible sign of invisible grace ; and this, perhaps, is as good a definition as could be given, in so few words. It is, certainly, one of the oldest, and most universally received. But all Protestant Churches—decidedly the Church of England and the American Episcopal Church—are understood to have taken up their position on the other side of the doctrine of transubstantiation. Both of the Churches above named, say, in their Articles of religion : “ The sacrifices of Masses, in which it was commonly said, that the priests did offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables, and dangerous deceits.” Also both say : “ Transubstantiation, or the change of the substance of bread and wine, in the Supper of the Lord, cannot be proved by Holy Writ.” The Irish Protestant Church says : “ It is repugnant to plain testimonies of Scripture, overthroweth the nature of a sacrament, and hath given occasion to *most gross idolatry*, and manifold superstitions ;” the words in italics being so much more than our 18th Article. This question, more than any other, perhaps, may be said to have constituted the nucleus of the controversy at the Reformation. It was certainly most prominent among the theological questions in debate

of Institution ; and that office is prescribed as one that *may* be used on the condition specified in the 4th Section of the 30th Canon, and not as one that *shall* be used.

at that time, and it was regarded on both sides as most vital. The symbolical representation, or sacramental memorial, of the sacrifice of Christ in the Eucharist, as understood by all Protestants, is a very different thing from the real sacrifice claimed by the doctrine of transubstantiation; and the partaking of the body and blood of Christ in "a heavenly and spiritual manner, by faith," as our 18th Article hath it, is also very different from partaking of "the natural and self-same body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered on the Cross," as the papists have it. The Protestant participation in the Lord's Supper is by faith in Christ himself; whereas, the participation of papists is by faith in the dogma of transubstantiation. The former act is spiritual, and capable of being defended by reason; whereas, the latter contradicts the senses, and always presents an absurdity, incapable of being entertained by a reasonable mind.

The historical origin of these novelties is doubtless as follows:—Any one acquainted with the history of the English Reformation, must have observed the extreme difficulty then experienced in laying aside what were regarded by the Reformers as objectionable usages and ceremonies; and many of them were for a long time, even for ages, retained. Very little progress was made, in this particular, under Henry the Eighth. Under Edward the Sixth, much of this part of the Reform was accomplished; but much of it also remained unaccomplished. Elizabeth was a great stickler for the old ceremonies, though a

decided Protestant; and under her reign, and on this account, arose the great schism of Nonconformity, the effects of which rest on the Church of England, as an incubus, to this day. This spirit of Nonconformity came to a crisis under Charles the First, and resulted in the establishment of the Commonwealth. Though the Restoration came in with a flourish of victory, as a political change, there was naturally a subdued temper as to the demands for conformity to the objectionable usages of the Church. By the time that the American Revolution arrived, the Church of England had chiefly laid aside the histrionic ceremonies and other objectionable customs which were inherited from the Church of Rome, and which had been the occasion of such infinite disaster to the State, as well as to the Church. If these ceremonies could never be endured by the people of England, much less were they adapted to the genius of the American people; and if the Church of England could never rest satisfied, till she had got rid of them, it would be strange, indeed, if the American Episcopal Church should readopt them! And yet, so far as we can see, these are precisely the things which it is now proposed to introduce into the American Church!

It can scarcely be other than pertinent to our general purpose, to ask, in some place—and it may as well perhaps be done here—if it is not a question of considerable moment to the Church, whether her candidates for orders, in our Theological Seminaries, are being instructed and trained in the principles of the *Protestant Episcopal Church in the United*

States? We do not raise this question as a reflection in any quarter, but as a matter of right and duty in the present state of things. The character of the ministers of the Church will depend upon their training at the schools. The times demand, not only well instructed, but vigorous men for this high calling—men that will command the respect of the people for their manly as well as for their Christian character. It is, we think, a mistake to suppose, that the American people can be entertained, or satisfied, with the niceties and exactitudes of unaccustomed ceremonies in religion, however they may require both decency and order. They know that the great and lofty themes of religion are too great and too lofty to be mixed up with practices which a child might enact as well as a man, and which require but a low degree of histrionic talent for their execution. The instincts of human nature determine, without pause, that a mind which can be occupied with mere ceremony as a study, and which can devote itself to practice it *secundem artem*, cannot be burdened with any very weighty matter, or be the storehouse of manly and vigorous thought. There is so little affinity between Christian theology and the enactment of a part addressed to the eye, that he who devotes himself to the latter, can hardly be accomplished in the former. While the study of the former enlarges and invigorates the mind, the study of the latter almost necessarily tends to the opposite. And is it a class of sound theologians, or of superficial artists, by whom the American Episcopal Church is to be served, and her mission fulfilled?

We have no space for such a consideration of the appropriate duties of Theological Seminaries, as the subject suggests. We have only wished to intimate that the Church is entitled, is bound to know, whether her candidates for orders are being trained for that service which her position, her genius, and her mission, and which the genius of the American people, most require.

We cannot conclude this chapter without some remarks on the table found in the note below, which, on account of the source whence it is derived, (the Church Review for January, 1853,) and the sanction there given to it, we accept as having been carefully and correctly compiled.* In the second column we have the increase of population in the United States, from 1790 to 1850, for every ten years; in the third, the time required for doubling, in the same ratio of increase; in the fourth, the increase of the clergy of the American Episcopal Church for the whole period, and for every ten years; and in the fifth, the time required for doubling, in the same

* Comparative Table, by the Rev. Dr. Chapin, of Glastonbury, Connecticut:—

A.D.	Population, U. S.	Time required for doubling in the same ratio of increase.	Clergy.	Time required for doubling in the same ratio of Increase.
1790	3,929,328	...	190	...
1800	5,309,758	28.4	210	9.5
1810	7,239,903	27.5	218	26.2
1820	9,638,166	31.0	331	19.0
1830	12,858,670	29.9	534	16.3
1840	17,063,353	30.5	1026	10.8
1850	28,263,498	27.5	1632	16.3

ratio of increase. The number of clergy in 1850, as will be seen, was 1622 ; and the present number of parishes, or congregations, as stated in the same article, is 1678. It would appear, from other sources of information, that the increase of the Church has been about in the same ratio with that of the clergy, so that the fourth and fifth columns may also be taken as a measure of the growth of the Church. With this data, we proceed to remark, that every one will naturally see, in judging of moral causes in operation throughout the country, that nothing but a special cause, or special causes, could have put the increase of the Episcopal Church so much in check, as from 1840 to 1850. Going on under the same general influences, and at the same rate of increase, as from 1810 to 1840, the rate of doubling opposite to 1850, should have been not more than five or six years, instead of nearly seventeen. This is truly an amazing, an alarming falling off. There could be no cause for it, evidently, but in the internal state of the Church. Every thing external has been even more favourable for the increase of the Episcopal Church, since 1840 than before, if her internal condition had been equally favourable.

We are forced, then, to come to a scrutiny of the cause, or causes ; and we see not how there can be a dissenting voice on this question. It is true there have, during this period, that is, since 1840, been some serious troubles in the Church, arising from grave judicial processes and decisions, and the diversity of sentiment on account of them. But the *effects* of such misfortunes, unconnected with other

things, are naturally transient and evanescent. They have, doubtless, had some influence in this check to the growth of the Church; but, it is believed, they will not account for more than a very small fraction of it. Personal matters, be the individuals concerned ever so elevated, are never long-lived in the mind and mouth of the public. But questions, involving principles, in which the public are generally concerned, are enduring and influential, to the extent of the parties interested; and it need not be said, that the questions raised by the Oxford Tractarian School, and the new practices, or revival of old ones, proposed and introduced by them, have not only produced great excitement, and entailed a lasting controversy, in the sister Churches of England and of the United States, but that they have excited the mind, and put in action the tongues and pens of the whole religious world, both in England and in this country—more especially, perhaps, in this. It was quite enough to have these matters to cope with *in* the Church; but the action from *without* has been even more noisy, and more vigorous, of its own kind. The enemies of the Episcopal Church, in this country, have been delighted to have such an opportunity as these events have given them, to renew and bring home the charge, before the public, of the affinities between the Episcopal and the Roman Churches; and it cannot be denied, that the facts of the case, as they appear on the surface, especially to those who desired occasion, and who were willing, to pervert the truth, and make the most of such appearances, have given great force to their argument. The Protestant

religious public of the United States, who are without our pale, have, for the most part, been made to believe, that Puseyism and Romanism were about to swallow up the American Episcopal Church. Hundreds of young men, in a course of education in the colleges and theological seminaries of the country, who had meditated application for orders in the Episcopal Church, and who would have been useful there, have, no doubt, been startled by these appearances, and relinquished their purpose. They are, in consequence, lost to the Church for ever; and hundreds more of the same class, will, doubtless, be influenced in the same manner, to the same result, before all occasion of these apprehensions shall have ceased. All these would naturally desire to serve in the ministry of the Episcopal Church, as it *was*; but they are afraid of it, as it now *is*. They are Protestants, and fear to come in contact with any thing that looks like Romanism. In the eyes of the Protestant world around, the Episcopal Church has lost standing, reputation, confidence, by being supposed to be inclined to the Church of Rome. We speak of fact, and not of any just occasion for such a change of public sentiment. Previous to the introduction of these novelties in the Church, she was rapidly rising in general esteem, and scarcely a mouth was opened against her. The rate of her increase, compared with that of the population of the country, exceeded by much the increase of any other religious body in the same comparison. But they who sought occasion to injure her, found it; and they have never been over scrupulous of the truth in their representation of the

facts. They have magnified and perverted them, till they have made a wide spread and deep impression on the public mind suited to their purpose—an impression which will require an age, perhaps ages, to counteract and overcome. If there be any truth in facts and figures, such as the table on which these remarks are founded, discloses ; if we take into consideration not only the great falling off of the increase of our Church since 1840, and not only what she would naturally have gained unassailed by these untoward influences, but the indefinite amount of her injury that must yet long time abide in consequence of them, we may, perhaps, fairly conclude, that not less than *fifty years* of her legitimate growth must be struck from the records of history by the operation of this single cause ! What Churchman, with his eyes open to these facts, would dare to have even the smallest share of this responsibility ?

One of the great aims of the polity, liturgy, and prescribed modes of worship, in the American Episcopal Church, has been, and was from the beginning, to secure UNIFORMITY. But behold, how that uniformity has been disturbed, broken up, by the introduction of these novelties ! So great is the diversity of practice in modes and ceremonies at this time, that a clergyman of one church could not officiate in another that may be found in the same city, simply because he is not at home in the novelties—because he does not know how to conform to them ! Nor is there a uniformity in the degrees of diversity. Some have gone much farther than others, in their departures from and in their additions to the estab-

lished usages. There are Churches in connexion with the American Episcopal Church, where scarcely a single part of the service, except the reading of the lessons, is performed according to the old accustomed modes ; where the service is intoned, and every thing done in such new ways, and with such additional ceremonies, that, if the spirit of White and Hobart could descend from heaven to see, they would never, we think, without advice, recognize them as belonging to that Church over which they presided while on earth. A clergyman of twenty years ago would have to go to school, and learn to practice before he could officiate in these churches, as the service is now administered.

We are glad, however, to be able to say, that these novelties have not reached the vital parts of the Church, nor pervaded her structure, nor gone out to her extremities. Her worship and rites, as ordered in her Book of Common Prayer, are approved and admired by all the Christian world around ; as ordered there, and as interpreted by the immemorial practice of the Church, they necessarily enforce uniformity. The Book of Common Prayer is at the same time an expression and type of the genius of the Church, and her genius is illustrated by this volume. Through this medium, and with one voice, she expresses her penitence and her faith, her kindness to man, and her piety to God. By this, and with one voice, she bows down and worship; and by this, and with one voice, she rises and celebrates the praises of her Redeemer. Her prayers and her anthems go up to heaven with one accord. Her faith is one ; her baptism is one ; her

communion one ; her litany one ; her morning and evening prayers are one. There is not a want of humanity, in all its conditions and vicissitudes, in time, or for eternity, which is not there expressed, with one voice, before the throne of God ; nor an occasion of thanksgiving and praise, which does not find its organ there. It is communion on earth, and communion with heaven. It is one united voice of the soul of man, in penitence, in faith, in prayer, and in praise, going up before the throne of the Father, in the name of the Son, by the help of the Spirit.

CHAPTER XIV.

AN AMERICAN CHURCHMAN.

HE is a Churchman in our esteem, who, holding the Catholic Creeds, holds to Episcopacy, and to a common liturgy for all the public offices of religion ; and he is an American Churchman, who holds also to a constitutional Church, independent of the State, and regulated by canonical authority, such precisely as is "the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States."

It is among the main purposes of this work to show, that the American Episcopal Church occupies a new position in history, different from that of any other Church that ever existed ; that it is a position of exceeding interest, in its aspects on the future of the American continent, of eminent importance in relation to that future, and mediately so in relation to the world ; that she is entirely independent ; that she derived nothing from the past obligatory upon her, except the Bible, the Creeds, her Episcopacy, and certain other things, which, in her independent character, she adopted from choice, and made them her own by the act of adoption ; that her organization, and consequently her structure, are in their adaptations, different from that of any other Church ; and consequently, that her genius is different from *that of all others*. From these and other points of

difference in the character of the Church herself, it will follow, that a true American Churchman is different in character from all other Churchmen in the world.

Far be it from us to allow it to be supposed, from any thing we say in this work, that we have a contempt, or even a disrespect for the past, as history teaching by example ; or that we would reject any thing proposed for adoption in the Church, because it came from the past, even though it came from the bosom of the Church of Rome. The principal part of our liturgy came in that channel. We have seen many good and wise things in that Church, wanting in our own, which we should be heartily glad to have, if they could be introduced without a sacrifice, greater than the good to be accomplished. For, as we think, the greatest usefulness of the Church, in all her steps and doings, should always be a paramount object. We have abundantly shown, in a former chapter, that we consider there is more sound philosophy and more wisdom manifested in the polity, ritual, dogmas, practices, and appointments of the Church of Rome, than has ever been evinced by any other society on earth. Nevertheless, as the main purpose was wrong and corrupt, it cannot be lawfully or safely imitated, except in things good in themselves and good in their tendency, and when they will be well received.

But we are prepared, and we design to show, that there is no poverty in the American Episcopal Church as to means of good, but real and great wealth ; that she abounds in that sort of wealth ; that

she does not need to be indebted to foreign parts by borrowing; and that by borrowing too much, and inconsiderately, she may be impoverished, and worse off than before. She has wealth in her position which cannot be counted; wealth in her polity, which is as rich as the hopes and aspirations of the American mind, because it is exactly conformed to it; wealth in her ritual and customary observances; (who could desire more of either?) and wealth in her lofty mission, broad as the American world, interminable as the career of that world, and boundless as its prospective amplifications. It is on this platform of Providence, that the American Episcopal Church was erected, and on this platform that the American Churchman stands. We do not mean, that he is made a Churchman by it; for no accident of history can make a Churchman. A Churchman is made such by principle, in all that is essential to his character as a Churchman; but he is modified by circumstances. Where can the man be found in all history, whose character was not very essentially and necessarily the creature of circumstances? Was it not so with Saint Paul, and with every one of the Apostles, each differing essentially from every other? But the Apostles were all good Churchmen. And do we not find characteristic differences in Churchmen of different nations, and of different ages, along the whole line of Church history, down to this time, including the present, whose Churchmanship would never be drawn in question? Is not an English Churchman different in character from an American Churchman, though their fundamental principles as

Churchmen are precisely the same? They are necessarily different by the influence of circumstances ; and it is not a mere difference of personal character, but a difference of views about Church polity, and it may be about a hundred minor things appertaining to the Church, the sum of which might constitute a wide difference between them as Churchmen, not in fundamental, but chiefly in economical principles, the one as an English, and the other as an American Churchman.

It is an economical difference chiefly, if not altogether, that distinctively characterizes the American Churchman. The economy of the American Church polity gives a distinct stamp to his character. The general economy of American society gives another very distinct mark. It is morally impossible he should escape from it. The peculiar position of the American Church leaves its mark upon him. The republican character of the American people also stamps the American Churchman ; and if he be a man of enlarged, statesmanlike views, he cannot fail to appreciate the exalted mission of the American Episcopal Church, with such a field opened before her by Providence as no Church on earth ever had. This above all things will stamp his character as an American Churchman, and inspire him with hope sufficient to "forget those things which are behind, and to reach forth to those things which are before." As history, the past may be interesting and instructive ; but with the constituted and accustomed machinery of the American Episcopal Church, he will not probably see the need of borrowing machinery from

the past, or of adding to the accustomed usages of his own Church, already amply furnished for the best effect on the American mind. He will be chiefly attracted by the field already white for the harvest, and too earnest to enter upon these labours, with such instruments as the Church is already supplied with, and well proved, instead of resorting to the past for time-worn and long rejected tools of doubtful temper, and which, in the handling, may only embarrass the work. It is too great an enterprize for new experiments.

The American Churchman stands on a lofty and proud eminence. He can look on the past history of the Church, and see her mistakes. He will see, that the American Episcopal Church had a good beginning, and that she has made good progress ; and he cannot fail to see, that with her own armour on and with her appointed offices of worship and rules of teaching, she has only to go forward, and win the field—a field bounded only by the two great oceans—and that won, still to move onward from victory to victory, till the world that may yet be unoccupied, shall have the benefit of her ministrations. Such is the platform, such the position, and such the character of the American Churchman.

CHAPTER XV.

LOW CHURCH AND HIGH CHURCH—LOW CHURCHMEN AND HIGH CHURCHMEN.

THERE is no law superior to custom. Nevertheless, the customary application of the terms, which stand at the head of this chapter, is open to some criticism. The benefit of common or popular terms, applied to things of a complex character, is, that they should truly represent the things designated. Is this the fact, in the present instance? We think not. At least, they do not convey a uniform idea to all minds. To the questions, what is Low and High Church, and what a Low and High Churchman?—scarcely two persons can be found, who would give the same answers. The popular sense, which, perhaps, is as correct as any, is, nevertheless, extremely indefinite, and more or less inaccurate, in some respects unjust, as a description. So far as Low Church is taken to mean an Evangelical party, as opposed to a party assumed to be more attached to forms and Church principles, it is obviously both inaccurate and unjust, inasmuch as nothing, by common consent, can be more Evangelical than the Prayer Book, to which the High Church party is supposed to be more especially attached. And yet this distinction of Evangelical, is one of the leading popular notions on the subject. If the distinction be

based on the comparative amount of Evangelical truth customarily exhibited in the preaching of the two parties, that is still a mooted claim between them, and presupposes the competency of the tribunal that renders the judgment. There may be, and doubtless is, some occasion for this distinction in popular phrase ; but discriminating minds will be slow in admitting its entire justice, and much more slow in yielding to a popular current.

So far as Low Church is understood to represent laxity in the maintenance of Church order and principles, no party in the Church, surely, would arrogate that distinction ; and in the common path of the established practices and usages of the American Episcopal Church, it is not easy to get far out of the way, though, peradventure, there may happen to be some short comings. Let him who is without fault cast the first stone.

So far as High Church is understood to represent the novelties elsewhere considered in this work, we do not see the propriety of the application, however they may be incidental to the party commonly so designated. These novelties are not, surely, very lofty, either as to the sources whence they were derived, or as to the dignity of the position which they occupy, theoretically or practically. Theoretically, they appear to be of a histrionic character ; and practically, they would seem ill to comport with the elevated aspirations of a devout Churchman. Mere ceremony may gratify an imaginative, but is poor food for a heavenly mind. We like the idea, *if the terms* must be used, that High Church and

a High Churchman should have something truly lofty and heavenly in their character.

Without considering the various popular and technical meanings of the terms under consideration, which are very numerous in their shades as they strike different minds, it may be remarked, that the more the common application of them is scrutinized, so much the more shall we find occasion for criticism on the fact, that they have been so employed, and that they must necessarily have so large a place in common, we are disposed to say, vulgar speech. They who arrogate the claims of high Churchmen, if they mean any thing other than American Churchmanship, may fairly be arraigned, and their pretensions questioned, on the platform of the American Church; and they cannot avoid the dilemma of choosing between a Church which has no existence in the United States and the American Episcopal Church. For we have elsewhere shown, that the polity and usages of a Church are vital parts of itself, and that the polity of the American Episcopal Church being peculiar, it necessarily requires a corresponding character in an American Churchman.

We suppose it will generally be conceded, that Catholic Churchmanship represents common ground all the world over, in distinction from the peculiar ground which Churchmen occupy, as members of a particular branch of the Church Catholic. This common ground may, we think, be assumed as fixed, and virtually incapable of serious controversy as to details. A Catholic Churchman ought to be a universal currency. There is nothing high or low in

him ; but he is always on the same level. The terms high and low, therefore, can never, with propriety apply to a Catholic Churchman, as such ; but they seem to imply extremes in something ; and it is generally allowed, that extreme opinions, on great practical questions, are neither desirable, nor salutary.

If this view of Catholic ground be correct, we do not see how the terms high and low, in application to Churchmen, can have any other than a bad sense, except when they shall be employed to describe American Churchmen, as such. Then there may be a difference in degree, as to a bad meaning ; though even in that case, both may be objectionable terms. If it must be said of a true American Churchman, that he is a High Churchman, there may be some virtue in it. But the meaning of the terms would be essentially changed from their present use, and in some cases directly reversed. Nevertheless, it will yet appear, we think, that the only proper use of these terms, if they must be used, in the American Episcopal Church, is in application to American Churchmanship.

There is, unquestionably, a great, a wide, and necessary difference, between Catholic Churchmanship, and that of a particular branch of the Catholic Church, arising, not from the sacrifice, or even the modification of the former ; for Catholic churchmanship should ever be maintained as an integral part of the latter. It is the polity of any given branch of the Catholic Church, which makes this difference ; and it may be so great and so comprehensive, as to

be more apparent, and even more influential, than the Catholic ingredients, without abating from the appropriate influence of the latter. The appropriate function of Catholic Churchmanship, is to unite all sections of the Catholic Church in one faith, and in a universal fellowship ; whereas, the appropriate function of the Churchmanship of any particular branch of the Catholic Church, is to be most useful to the people among whom that Church is called to minister ; in other words, to fulfil its providential mission. This is the principle on which the American Episcopal Church was founded, as a new branch of the Church Catholic, which will appear in the history of her organization ; and this is the principle on which her polity has been formed, and grown up to such magnitude and importance. This, generally, is the principle, on which the affairs of the American Church have been hitherto administered ; and it is, ought certainly to be, the governing principle, now and forever. Catholic Churchmanship is of course presupposed, as a common platform for all the world ; and as a platform on which the American Episcopal Church stands. That is indispensable for all that is fundamental and vital in faith and order. But the polity of the American Episcopal Church was framed expressly for adaptation to the genius of the American people, and of American institutions. It is the Church, in the shape imparted to it by this polity, that presents itself to the American mind, as an instrument for effect and usefulness. It is the American Episcopal Church chiefly under her own peculiar form, that is seen inculcating the

doctrines and principles of the Church Catholic ; and only so long, and so far, as the American Church acts on this principle, will she be most effective and most useful. Catholic Churchmanship is fundamental, but American Churchmanship is the leading and chief instrument of good. The latter is built upon the former, grows out of it, and is put forward for effect. Let no one pervert our words. We say for effect, in the purest and in an unexceptionable sense of the terms. Without this instrumentality, the effect would be trifling, perhaps nothing. It was regarded as morally impossible to start the American Episcopal Church anew, after the Revolution, without such an adaptation ; and the genius of the American people is still the same, so far as the necessity of this adaptation is concerned. Precisely the same prejudices against the Church exist now as then, and they appear in the same shapes, and are expressed in the same terms. Generally speaking, indeed, they are less stubborn and less formidable, and that chiefly, if not solely, because the operation of American Churchmanship, based on the American platform, and shaped by the American Church polity, has tended to subdue them. Let our bishops set up the pretensions, claims, and style of the English bishops ; let our clergy turn their backs on the present and the future, and their faces to the past, and hunt up a ritual from the dark ages, or any other age, so they get a new one, and as they may imagine, one more imposing and more attractive ; and we should fear, that all that has been *gained* by American Churchmanship, would be lost

by such a departure from it. Churchmanship is of little worth, if it does not go into all practical matters, and like Saint Paul, "become all things to all men," to gain as many as possible.

And here, lest we should not find a better place, and the subject being akin to the above remarks, let us notice, for a moment, the want of uniformity in the official signatures of our bishops. In the General Convention of 1785, it was "*Ordered*, whereas, the bishop of this Church will not be entitled to any such temporal honours as are due to the archbishops and bishops of the parent Church, in quality of lords of Parliament; and whereas the reputation and usefulness of our bishops will considerably depend on their taking no higher title or style than will be due to their spiritual employments, that it be *recommended* to this Church, in the States here represented, to *provide* that their respective bishops may be called "the Right Reverend A. B., bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of C. D., and (that) as bishops (they) have no other title, and (that they) may not use any such style as is usually descriptive of temporal power and precedence."* This, we believe, has heretofore generally

* We take for granted, that the plenary authority of this Convention will not be denied; more especially as it originated the measures for the revision of the Book of Common Prayer, for a Constitution or fundamental law of the Church, and for obtaining the Episcopate from the Church of England, all of which were carried on and consummated from the original action of this Convention. The entire structure of the Church, and of its legislation, was based upon that action. Moreover, in a selection ordered by the General Convention of 1847, of acts of special

been observed, by consent or otherwise. The reason given in the record for this recommendation, is characteristic of the genius of the American Episcopal Church. But we observe, of late, a diversity of practice in regard to this matter, or rather two different modes, one as above recommended, and the other being simply as "A. B. of C. D." What does this latter mode of Episcopal signature mean? Does it intend to put forward a pretension, or to assert a fact? Certainly, as we take it, the fact is not so. Although our dioceses have territorial limits, generally running in a line with some of the civil divisions of the country, we do not understand that the jurisdiction of a bishop of our Church is over all the people of all religions and of no religion, within his diocese. If such a doctrine were promulgated, it would doubtless be offensive to those who do not

interest and importance, from the records of all previous General Conventions, and printed in the Appendix of that of 1847, the first acts cited, are from the Convention of 1785, and one of them is that which we have given above in the text. This measure of selection from former records, in 1847, originated in the house of bishops, and was executed by a committee of that house, composed of bishops Otey, Polk, and Whittingham. We conclude, therefore, that the recommendation of the General Convention of 1785, touching the official signatures of the bishops, will be allowed to be of full and complete authority. It is true, that the committee above named, went out of their way, and overstepped their instructions, in citing the act of 1785, regarding Episcopal signatures. But this only proves, that they regarded it as of interest and importance; and its being ordered into the Appendix of the Report of 1847, on motion of bishop Delancy, seconded by bishop Gadsden, proves the same thing in the mind of *the mover* and his second, and in the mind of the Convention.

acknowledge such a jurisdiction, and be treated with great disrespect—a result most undesirable.*

Which of the United States of North America has ever put itself under the care of a bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, or of any other Church ; or which of them has invested a bishop with any such jurisdiction? What law of the Episcopal Church has done this? On the contrary, there is a standing recommendation of the whole Church, as seen above, against it. We think it is equally against the genius of the people of the United States to concede such a claim, as it is against the genius of the American Episcopal Church to put it forward. By what law, then, civil or ecclesiastical, does a bishop of the *Protestant* Episcopal Church in the United States, subscribe himself officially as bishop of a State?

* We observe, that, at a meeting of the Convention of one of the Dioceses, in 1844, where the practice of the bishop was at variance with the above cited recommendation of the General Convention, a motion was offered, that the name and style of all Episcopal signatures upon the Journal of the Convention, should be in accordance with the constitutional and legal name of the Church, to wit, "Protestant Episcopal," &c.; but the bishop declared the motion out of order. An appeal from the decision of the chair was taken: but the chair was sustained. It is possible, if the mover of this resolution had taken his stand on the recommendation of the General Convention of 1785, that a different result would have been obtained; for, it can hardly be conceived how a motion in a Diocesan Convention, so precisely in accordance with a recommendation of the General Convention to that body, standing unrepealed, could be fairly ruled as out of order; more especially as one of the standing orders of said Diocesan Convention allowed an appeal from the decision of the chair.—(*Hoffmann, pp. 203 and 204.*)

But to return. It must be seen, we think, that, as Catholic Churchmanship is a common level, there can be no High or Low Churchmen on that ground. Where, then, shall we find them? We know very well where they are said to stand; but we have attempted to show there is no good reason for such a distinction, in such cases. We should heartily like, to see a high *American* churchman, if that means a strong and sound one. That is precisely the kind of Churchmanship, which the genius of the American Episcopal Church, and of the American people; and of American institutions, requires. Possibly, it might bring down some of those, who are now called high, into a very low place. For, just in proportion, and only in proportion, as a member of the American Episcopal Church is a true American Churchman, is he entitled to be called a High Churchman, and that in the purest sense of the terms. But American Churchmanship should be exalted at any cost. Nay, it needs no lifting up. It stands high of itself, and needs but to be named, to command universal respect, where respect for it is of most consequence. The American Episcopal Church, as we think, stands on a higher eminence, than any branch of the Catholic Church, since the days of the Apostles; and that eminence is composed, first of her Providential mission, and next of her polity. She commenced her career with the true Catholic faith in her hands and in her heart; with the Catholic Creeds; with an admirable liturgy formed at her hands, and borrowed from the mother Church; with a ritual *all* sufficient; and with a valid, unquestionable, and

unquestioned Episcopacy. She started independent of the State, as a pure Church of Christ, and has maintained that position, while her domain and her Episcopate have been 'spreading out on every side. She has framed and built up a polity of her own, corresponding with her character and position, and adapted to the genius of this Western world, where God had planted her. While all other branches of the Catholic Church are embarrassed by unfortunate connections with the past and the present, the American Episcopal Church leaped by a single bound from all such ties, carrying with her the Bible, Episcopacy, her Book of Common Prayer, and erecting for herself a system of self-government, adapted to her wants. Like Minerva from the head of Jupiter, if a Christian may borrow a figure from heathen mythology for such a purpose, without profanation, she sprang forth full-armed; but her amour was from the highest and purest of all sources. Rich in herself, she has no need to borrow. All that was good in the past, in antiquity, she took in her hand at her beginning; perhaps a little more; hardly less. She was at least highly endowed. From that hour, it is her position that claims her attention. Nothing like it, in interest and importance, has ever occurred in the history of the Christian Church. On the threshold of a new world, teeming with immortal beings, in a new and unwonted state of society, where every thing looks West, and nothing East, where all is intent on the future, it were strange and unnatural, indeed, that she should turn about, and front the past, to gather up instruments of serving

God and the Church from the dark ages, distrusting that Providence which had called her to such a mission, and furnished her with such a rich store of means to accomplish it—of means so admirably adapted to the end. When her ritual was so perfect, rather in excess than wanting, considering the position she occupied, how unstatesmanlike—if we may apply such a term to the ordering of Church affairs, in searching for means to fulfil so great a purpose—how unstatesmanlike, we say, we may add, how presumptuous, to seek to add to the beautiful and appropriate symbols of that ritual, practices borrowed from the histrionic arts, when all the world must see that such is their character !

The genius of the American mind is peculiar ; it is sagacious ; and its most profound and controlling ingredient is that of independence. We are sorry to say, that it lacks reverence. But there is no help for it. Such is the fact. It has cast aside the opinion of Europe, on politics and religion, and it can never prevail here again as authority. It is slow in rendering respect to the past, and is chiefly intent in pressing onward on the future. And what a future for this continent ! California alone, with a population as dense as that of Massachusetts, would contain forty millions, and nourish them too ! What a future for the great West, (which not long ago was the far East,) in the islands of the Pacific, and on the eastern declivity of Asia, all of which must soon fall under the sweep of American influence ! And can the American Episcopal Church be indifferent to *this* spectacle of the future, turn her back upon it,

and busy herself, occupy her studies, in collecting entertainments for the eye from the past, and burdening her ritual, already sufficiently unwieldy, with the obsolete usages of ancient times, simply, forsooth, because it is imagined there is something more splendid and more imposing in them? We cannot but feel, that the mind of the American Episcopal Church may be better occupied; that her grand mission is different from this; and that her genius was not wont to be so.

Since Catholic Churchmanship cannot but be one thing, neither high nor low, we would rather see the superstructure of American Churchmanship, built thereupon, conformed to the past history of the American Church, than to any thing else past; and modeled, rather, for the future exigencies of that Church, than to see it regardless of that great mission, and seeking to entertain a lost world with histrionic exhibitions! No, such is not, and never can be, the character of true American Churchmanship; and there is no other but American Churchmanship fitted for this hemisphere. No other belongs here. The age is past for any other to be in the highest degree useful here. Some other may, perhaps, furnish entertainment for imaginative minds; but the present age, especially on this continent, is a matter-of-fact, working age—an age pregnant with a grand, a vast future; and the American Episcopal Church must conform to its demands, by the display, and in the use of a vital energy, characteristic of her true genius, or fall forever behind the activities of the religious world with which she is surrounded.

and lose the prize of a victorious career, which the hand of Providence now holds out to tempt her efforts.

In the same manner as the founders of the American Episcopal Church deferred to public opinion, in all matters indifferent, so is it ever wise to do it. Saint Paul was the loftiest exemplar of this character. Opinion is a law of human society, which can never be disregarded with impunity, whatever cause we are engaged in; and in nothing does it command a wider scope, or greater energy of influence, than in religious affairs. Nothing can prosper in this hemisphere, and produce a deep and lasting effect on society, which is not American, either in origin, or in adoption, or in form. We speak not of principles, but of the garb which they wear; and Churchmanship is no exception to the rule. Fanatics may despise the doctrine; but all practical men will be forced to respect it.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE RELATION OF THE AMERICAN EPISCOPAL CHURCH TO OTHER
RELIGIOUS BODIES, AND THE COURSE WHICH HER GENIUS PRE-
SCRIBES IN THE CASE.

ALTHOUGH the American Episcopal Church now occupies an eminent position among the religious bodies of the United States, time was, during the progress of the American Revolution, and for some time afterward, when she was not only small in the numbers attached to her Communion, but she was forced to struggle for existence. Having at last obtained the Episcopate, and a regular and independent organization as a Church, her growth and ultimate success was no longer doubtful. Nevertheless, she always has been, and still is, far outnumbered by other religious bodies, organized and acting under the claim of being Christian Churches.

In the census of the United States for 1850, we have a statement of the number of edifices devoted to religious worship throughout the Union, their capacity, cost, and the sum total of the number of worshipers which they will accommodate. The whole number of edifices is 36,011, and the average number of sittings 384. The total value is estimated at 86,416,639 dollars, and total capacity for the accommodation of worshipers, 13,849,896. Of the number of edifices, the Methodists have 12,467; the

Baptists, 8,791 ; the Presbyterians, 4,584 ; the Congregationalists, Dutch Reformed, Lutheran, and German Reformed, together, have 3,528 ; the Papists, 1,112 ; and the Episcopalians, 1,422. There are many denominations here omitted ; but the above are the chief, and will serve to show the present relative proportion of the American Episcopal Church to each and all of them. The Methodist places of worship will accommodate 4,209,333 ; those of the Baptists, 3,130,078 ; those of the Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Dutch Reformed, Lutheran, and German Reformed, united, will accommodate 3,705,211 ; those of the Church of Rome 620,950 ; and those belonging to the Episcopal Church will accommodate 625,213. For all the other denominations, not named above, the sittings are 1,558,221.

We claim for the American Episcopal Church a liberality towards all other religious denominations, though there may be exceptions, as among all classes of Christians. A Churchman ought to be too well satisfied with his position and relations, to envy others, or be unkind, either in words or conduct. Christian courtesy is an eminent Christian virtue, and the occasions for it are constant. Two things granted to the members of the American Episcopal Church, and they ask no more, as conditions of Christian intercourse, in any manner and to any extent, not inconsistent with the maintenance of these principles ; and these are, Episcopacy and a liturgy ; in other words, that Episcopal ordination, unbroken from the Apostles, is essential to a valid ministry in the Church of Christ, and that public

worship should be conducted in the use of authorized forms. As these are conscientious principles, Christian courtesy does not demand their surrender. On the contrary, courtesy requires of all others, that these principles should be respected, in all their necessary and practical operations. This is the only comfortable ground, on which the Christian world, divided as it is by a variety of creeds, can live in peace, and act with kindness, one towards another : they must tolerate each other's peculiar principles, and conscientious scruples, and never require them to be sacrificed. There is scarcely a religious society in the Christian world, which has not its own terms of Communion, and some of them are very rigid and exclusive. But they are alleged to be conscientious, and ought not, therefore, to be invaded, or molested, directly or indirectly. The close communion Baptists, for example :—who thinks of finding fault with them for their terms of Communion ? It is impossible, that the American Episcopal Church should give up her great and fundamental principle of Apostolic succession, as she holds and believes, or consent to any merging of herself with other religious bodies, which would prostrate that principle ; and it would, we think, be unreasonable, and a lack of Christian courtesy, for others to require or expect it. The principle prescribes its own practical operation, in relation to those of other creeds ; and it is impossible to escape from that course, and maintain the principle. All who will, can easily see this ; and seeing it, they are self-condemned in their claim for tolera-

tion, and professions of liberality, if they complain of it.

Although the use of a common liturgy, on occasions of public worship, was not enjoined by the same high authority as was Episcopacy, nevertheless, it proceeds from the ordering of the Church in general Synod or Convention, and as such is regarded as obligatory. For, if the State is the ordinance of God, much more is the Church. There is no escape, therefore, from this rule ; and Christian courtesy in others could no more require the sacrifice of this principle, than of that of Episcopacy. Grant to the American Episcopal Church the full scope of these two principles, and their necessary and practical operation, and it is all she asks of the religious bodies and denominations with which she is surrounded ; and surely, none can fail to see, that this is right and proper, as these principles are matters of conscience. Such, in this particular, is the genius of the American Episcopal Church ; and from without these walls of self-protection and self-government, she will walk abroad, and shake hands with all the world, who will grant her this toleration. More than this she does not ask, and less than this she cannot accept. That every one should be permitted to maintain, defend, and enjoy his own conscientious principles, is believed to be the common ground of religious and Christian intercourse, all the world over, so he does it with courtesy and kindness, and with like toleration towards all others.

The American Episcopal Church, as we have seen, rose from a small beginning in the United States,

and is still small, when compared with the numbers counted within the pale of some other religious denominations. The Methodists are in great numbers; the Baptists next; and the Presbyterians and Congregationalists, nearly one in faith, are also very numerous. Near akin to these two latter, are the Dutch Reformed, Lutherans, and German Reformed. The five last named have always maintained a high standard of education for their ministry. Their Colleges and Theological Seminaries have done themselves and the country great honour, and some of their Divines have acquired a world-wide fame, from Cotton Mather and Jonathan Edwards, down to President Dwight and Professor Stuart. The religious culture of the people of the United States, hitherto, has been chiefly done by other hands, than those of the American Episcopal Church; and it would be equally in derogation of fact and justice, not to admit, that this culture has been of great value and importance. What would the United States have been at this moment without it? But a small remove from heathenism. That was a noble heart of Saint Paul, that could say, when he himself was in bonds, and could not go forth to preach the Gospel:—"Some, indeed, preach Christ, even of envy and strife. . . What then? Notwithstanding every way, whether in pretence or in truth, Christ is preached; and I therein do rejoice, yea, and will rejoice." (Phil. i. 15—18.) The American Episcopal Church was also in bonds, in this country, for a long period; or under trials tantamount. Nevertheless, Christ was preached, and the country was saved. Is

not this a solid ground of joy? We should pity the Churchman, who would not rejoice in it, and be glad. It has erected a broad and strong platform of religion and good morals for the American Episcopal Church to build upon, and worked out abundant materials wherewithal to set up her glorious edifice. For we shall yet have occasion to see, that one of the grand Providential purposes of the Mission of the American Episcopal Church, is to gather in and absorb the religious elements already furnished to her hand, under the culture of other religious bodies, which, being dissatisfied with their position, and seeing the beauty and order of the Episcopal Church, will ask to be admitted within her pale. By much the largest part of the additions now annually made to the Episcopal Church, comes in this way, and from these quarters. And they constitute some of the best members of the Church, because they never come without having considered the subject, and learned the reasons. In the present defective mode of Church education—pity it is so—one may be born in the Church, and grow up in it, without knowing why he is a Churchman. But he who comes from without, comes for reasons which he understands, and which he will never forget. He feels an interest in the study of the subject, and is sure to continue it.

It may, perhaps, be said, that this gathering in of such elements, is "building on another man's foundation." But it is not so. The American Episcopal Church is not of a proselyting character. Such is not her genius. By acknowledging the platform of religion and good morals, made to her

hands, under the culture of other religious bodies, as above described, we have proposed in fairness to render an act of justice. It is a simple matter of fact. But Episcopacy is a principle which will command respect, and the liturgical services with which it is usually invested, constitute another element of its moral power. But the naked principle of Episcopacy is potent in the mind of the Christian world. It claims to be an Apostolic institution, and is forced, by this claim, to say, that there can be no other valid ministry in the Church of Christ. The historical evidence is strong, and is not easily shaken; and it grows stronger by scrutiny and by the attacks made upon it. It forever fronts the opinion of the world, under the same steady aspects of the probability of the truth of its claims, shaking the confidence of its opponents, and gradually subduing them, as time rolls on. Nobody denies, that it is as good as any other claim. That is something. It is much. And if, perchance, it should be better, if it should be all that it claims to be, it is a very serious thing not to acknowledge it, not to have the opportunity of all its benefits. The silent and inappreciable influence of such thoughts, is continually acting on the mind of the religious world; and it is a very great influence. And the decent order of the liturgical services of the Church, enforces the claims of Episcopacy, till both together become irresistible in their effect on a multitude of minds, waiting for satisfaction as to the best and truest way. It is not the zeal of proselytism that makes Churchmen; but the calm and dignified aspect of the position and attributes of the Church herself. Built on "the foundation of

Christ and of the Apostles," she presents herself to the world, with all her internal machinery, so affluent and so well ordered, with the roll of her commission in one hand, and pointing to heaven with the other, saying, "This is the way, walk ye in it." There is enough of poetry—such poetry as the Psalmist and other prophets delighted to cultivate—in her position, in her ritual, and in her anthems, to satisfy the imaginative; and enough of apparent truth in her claims to convince the sturdiest thinker. It is for these, and such like reasons, that the American Episcopal Church draws within her pale the religious elements with which she is surrounded, and makes converts of the irreligious.

So far from depreciating the calling, the sincerity, the zeal, the usefulness—great usefulness, we are willing to say—of many of the denominations of Christians, with which the American Episcopal Church is surrounded, and in the midst of which God has planted her, she can hardly over estimate the importance of the work they are doing. They have their own sphere of action, their own field of duty, and they are doing a great work. They do not believe as we do; but they believe in God, and they believe in Jesus Christ. "What then? Notwithstanding every way, whether in pretence, or in truth, Christ is preached; and I therein do rejoice, yea, and will rejoice." None can deny the good they have done, and are doing. It is apparent. And the more they do, so much greater are the chances of the American Episcopal Church. They are furnishing materials every where for her to build up with. The silent influence of her claims is constantly going forth, and constantly spreading abroad

over this wide field, reaping the harvest, which these other efforts have ripened for her sickle. She is not placed in a heathen, but in a Christian country—a country that has had a great deal of Christian culture, done by other hands ; and notwithstanding she has a missionary character, and a missionary duty to perform, over the wide world, to the extent of her means and of her ability, her grandest mission is at home, and on this Continent. When this shall have been accomplished, she will be prepared for the wider field that shall open before her. Her claims to a Divine commission cannot be relinquished, and she is bound to act. She is bound to act with decision, with zeal, with energy. There is power enough in her structure, in her machinery, in her furniture, to make the world bend before her efforts; and scope enough in her polity, and in her prescribed services to employ, in the most vigorous exercise, every talent of every minister, and of every member in her communion. It is her genius to act in and by herself. She can act in no other way. Her structure is firm ; her machinery is fixed ; her ritual is complete ; and she lacks nothing but the spirit of her high mission to move onward to conquest. She will never envy the good that others do, but rejoice in it. But she must respect the precepts of her Divine Master, and see that her own appointed work is not neglected.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE LAITY AS A CO-ORDINATE POWER OF THE AMERICAN EPISCOPAL CHURCH, AND ITS EFFECT AS A CORPORATE ELEMENT OF THE CHURCH, ON HER GENIUS AND MISSION.

THE actual position of the laity, as an authoritative power, in the American Episcopal Church, is in substance as follows :—In the vestries they are always paramount, with power to choose a rector, and to manage all the temporalities of the parish. The vestrymen and wardens, who constitute the vestry, as a corporate body, are chosen by the people, of whom the parish is composed, in such manner as to be the people's representatives, so that the parishioners constitute the basis of the powers of the vestry. In the parishes and vestries the laity are supreme, the rector, if there be one, acting usually as chairman. The corporate powers and by-laws of vestries may not in all the dioceses be uniform ; but the influence of the laity, both in the parishes and vestries, is always paramount.* The Diocesan Con-

* It will be remembered, that, in England there is no regular delegated body known as a vestry."—(*Hoffman*, p. 270.)

A parish, in the Church of England, is a part of the State, and all parochial affairs are managed by state authorities ; whereas, in the American Episcopal Church, a parish is a component part of the Church, and is independent of the State, except so far as to be indebted to the State for corporate privileges to hold property, &c., as required for the administration of its temporalities.

ventions, having authority over all the Churches of their respective dioceses, for legislation and government, are composed of the clergy, and of representatives from the vestries, in such manner, that the laity always hold a balance of power against the clergy; and whenever the two orders come in conflict, or for any other sufficient reasons, provision is made for a small number of either order, varying in the dioceses from one to five, and always available, to call for a vote by orders, by which means each order, if disposed, has a negative on the action of the other. The authority of a Diocesan Convention is co-extensive with its jurisdiction, for all internal purposes, so far as it does not interfere with the legislation of the General Convention.

The General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, is the supreme Synod, for the general purposes of legislation and government over the whole Church, to the extent of her Communion at home and abroad, and is composed of two houses, viz. : the house of bishops, and the house of clerical and lay deputies, the latter being representatives of the Diocesan Conventions, not to exceed four of each order for each Convention. On the call of the clerical and lay representatives of any diocese, ordinarily available, if desired, the house is required to vote by orders; in which case again, as in the Diocesan Conventions, the majority of the lay vote may be a negative on the vote of the clergy; each order in this case, having but one vote for each Convention represented. In this way, as will be seen, the laity hold a balance of power. A concurrent vote of both houses

is required for the validity of an act of legislation, by which, as will be seen, each house has a negative on the action of the other. The practical operation of the negative of the house of bishops, is precisely the same, as if the three orders should sit in one house, and vote by orders; and the negative of any one order, in a vote by orders, is as potent as that of any other of the three orders. (*See the Constitution, p. 150.*)

Thus it appears, that the laity have a paramount power in the vestries, and a co-ordinate power in the Diocesan and General Conventions. The purpose of such an organization of the American Episcopal Church, as many times remarked, or suggested, in this work, [was to establish her republican character, in conformity to the genius of the American people, and of American institutions, as well as in conformity to the primitive constitution of the Church by the Apostles, when the first synods were composed, not only of "the Apostles and Elders," but "of the multitude of the faithful."

It is a remarkable fact, verified by history, that a government of priests, unassociated with and unassisted by the laity, has never operated well, either in pagan or Christian countries. There is doubtless a philosophy in it, which might, perhaps, be explained. First, they minister between the present and future, between a known and unknown world, being expounders of the latter, and professedly devoted to the revelation or teaching of its secrets and mysteries, all which, in the case of false religions, are made and shaped after their own liking, and to their

own purpose. Next, they always attach to the future world, as is proper, a paramount and supreme importance, subjecting all present realities to the hopes or fears of the future. They are not men of this world, but agents for the next. It is easy to see why and how the priesthood of pagan religions have always made slaves of their devotees. In the same manner, the priesthood of the Church of Rome have gained a complete ascendancy over "the faithful," by the gradual encroachment of their inventions and dogmas regarding the future world. The hierarchy of Rome now governs the estates of the Church in Italy, and it is the worst government in the civilized world. Justice on earth, as a right of man in relation to his fellow man, is not known there. It is estimated, that there are at this moment a hundred thousand men, deprived of freedom, and immured in the dungeons of Italy—all, directly or indirectly, the result of the policy of the Church of Rome. It is enough, one would think, to muster a crusade of all Christendom for the rescue of such a large portion of suffering humanity. The government of Charles the First, was chiefly under the influence of priests; and if not the worst that England ever had, was certainly the most disastrous to the Church and to the nation. But the time is past in Christendom, for men who have been consecrated to the high and sacred offices of religion, to govern states. Could a Richelieu again preside over the destinies of France, or a Wolsey over those of England? "My kingdom is not of this world;" and the opinion of the world has subscribed to the doctrine.

We say not this to the disparagement of the clergy of the Protestant Churches of the present day, than whom, generally, especially in the United States, among all denominations, there is not to be found a purer or more worthy class of men. It is, perhaps, because the genius of the American people, and of American institutions, has kept them in their proper place. It is their habit voluntarily to keep it, and so far as we know, they have no desire to depart from their appropriate sphere. The clergy of the American Episcopal Church are not only content, but well pleased, with that Constitution, which brings the laity to sit side by side with themselves in all public councils, and which makes the laity a co-ordinate power in the legislation and government of the Church. It may be regarded as one of the most auspicious events of modern times—certainly for the Church—which matured and consummated this arrangement; and more especially as it is now placed beyond all possibility of a reversal, or of a retrograde movement. It is a fixed fact in the history of the Church, and of the United States.

The benefits of this arrangement are numerous and diversified. In the first place, it establishes mutual confidence, and a concert of action, between the clergy and laity. The latter have no jealousy of the former, and can have none, because they know their own position in the Church is one of paramount influence. Next, it commends the Church to the confidence of the American people, as a republican institution. All can see, that such is its character, firmly and immutably established. This is a fact,

and a relation of supreme importance. In the third place, it gives to the Church all the benefit of the best and most useful talents of the laity in legislation and government. The Church, in her present position and relations to the public, and to the world, requires statesmen of the highest order, in the formation and extension of her code ; and fortunately, she has such men within her pale, who are also found in her public councils. She wants jurists, and she has these of great eminence. Hoffman on the Law of the Church (American), is a most seasonable, able, and useful work. It is profound and thorough, and will rank among the highest productions of the class, in this or any other country. No Churchman in orders, and in the ordinary pursuit of his profession, could have produced this work. A layman and a jurist only was equal to the task ; and it is a most important production. It demonstrates the richness of the field which it opens to view, and the materials which it furnishes for future guidance in legislation, will not only be appreciated, but greatly useful. It is at the same time a history and text-book of the American Episcopal Church.

It is no libel on the character of clergymen to recognize the fact, which is undeniable, that they are generally less practical in worldly affairs, than laymen. It results from the very nature of their professional pursuits. Their function is, to think and discourse of the future world, more than of the present. They are more sublimated in their views and feelings, and are sometimes found highly imaginative. But the entire legislation of the Church falls

within the province of practical men, of statesmanlike views, who are more commonly found among laymen than among clergymen. Laymen are indispensable as a balance power, often as a check, always as an auxiliary, in handling the temporal economy of a religious commonwealth.

More especially is the position of the laity in the Constitution of the American Episcopal Church important, in its bearings on the Protestant character, duties, and destiny of the Church. The laity, as members of the civil Commonwealth, always occupied in that field, are entitled to feel, and will naturally take up their position, on this ground of controversy with the Church of Rome, on all fit occasions. When ever a crisis in regard to this controversy, of a more or less important character, is presented, in the accidental developments of the Church, or of general society, it will naturally be expected of the laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, that they will be at their post, stand firm, and fight the battle through, with vigour and determination. They know too well, that it is the battle of freedom, in Church and State, all the world over, and that every demonstration of this grand enemy of human society, in whatever form and wherever made, demands vigilance and oppugnation. It is too well known, alas, that, by means of recent untoward influence, noticed in chapter XIII, the Church of Rome has insinuated herself into the very heart of the Church of England, shaken the fabric of that Church to its foundations, disturbed the State, and drawn off great numbers of the clergy and laity to

the Papal ranks. The same influences have crossed the sea, and found their way into the American Episcopal Church, with a similar result. Numbers of our clergy, of our candidates for orders, and of our laymen, have gone over to Rome; and at last a bishop! Will not the American Church be advised, and take her stand in this crisis? May we not look to the laity, as a co-ordinate power in the Church, for a union of effort against these encroachments? It is in their power alone to arrest the movement.

On the 19th of April, 1529, the Diet of Spires passed an ordinance designed to put down Luther and the Reformers. Whereupon, the Elector of Saxony, the Marquis of Brandenburg, the Langrave of Hesse, and the three Dukes of Lunenburg, in all, six princes of the empire, and fourteen representatives of imperial cities, *all laymen*, made their solemn PROTEST against this ordinance; whence the name of PROTESTANTS. It was the action of *laymen*, that gave name to this grand column of Christendom—to this mighty host of brave hearts, devoted to the liberties of mankind, both in Church and State. Thanks to God, we believe there is a reliable virtue for such a crisis, in the hearts of the laity of the American Episcopal Church. If needs be, we doubt not, they would reassert the solemn PROTEST of the Elector of Saxony and of his associates, as made in 1529, the form of which would naturally be against the introduction and progress of ROMANISM in the Church of which they are members.

We observe the signs of another interesting movement towards a Reformation in the Papal Church of

Germany, not dissimilar to that of the sixteenth century, headed by John Baptist Hirscher, D.D., Dean of the Metropolitan Church of Freiburg, Breisgau, and Professor of Theology in the Roman Catholic University of that city. He is a voluminous writer of great repute in Germany. In 1849 he published a brochure, entitled, "*The State of the Church*," which has been translated by Rev. Arthur C. Coxe, Hartford, Conn., and published in London, 1852, under the title of "*Sympathies of the Continent; or, Proposals for a New Reformation*," with an Introduction by the translator. The following are some of Dr. Hirscher's views on the duty and importance of associating the laity in the counsels, legislation, and government of the Church:—

"In civil matters, to what purpose is it, where only princes hold a Congress, and make their own resolves? It is a good beginning, and an indispensable one; but they remain powerless and divided, unless the people will stand by them, and give them their acquiescence, and if need be their active support. It is precisely so with such a Synod of Bishops. It is ineffectual and powerless, unless the clergy and laity bear their part in it. . . . If we take up the New Testament, we find that, in primitive times, the question, to whom it belongs finally to decide and to conclude in the affairs of the Church, was not as yet apparently opened, and that, in every discussion, the ruling principle was that of the community, that of the brotherhood, that which gave to every existing faculty the privilege of co-operation. Thus it is neither Peter, nor the Eleven United, who

nominate the Apostle to succeed in the place of Judas. Peter desires the assistance of the faithful, in proposing worthy men, among whom the lot should designate whom the Lord had chosen. Nor is it again the Apostles alone who give deacons to the congregation; the community itself chooses them, and presents them for the imposition of hands. When the fugitives of Jerusalem are spread abroad in Phœnicia, in Cyprus, and in Antioch, and when, in this last named city, a multitude of the inhabitants are converted to the faith of Christ, it is the whole Church at Jerusalem which sends Barnabas there, to acquaint himself with their affairs. When that important question presents itself about the circumcision of the Gentiles, Paul, Barnabas, and other brethren, are sent to Jerusalem to have the question decided. . . . In the debate, there was much speaking, *pro and con*, before Peter and James had expressed their opinions. The discourse of Peter, and the narrative of Paul, settle the question. The proposal of James brings it to a conclusive result. But who passed the final decree? Their document plainly indicates: 'The Apostles, and Elders, and *Brethren*'—so runs the Encyclical letter—'send greeting unto the *Brethren* who are of the Gentiles in Antioch, and Syria, and Cilicia,' &c. (Acts xv. 23.) . . . If we consider attentively the facts presented, we cannot but conclude, that an organization which flows naturally from a true conception of the Church, as a body, composed of active members, working together for the common life, has numerous historical precedents, and that, too, in the fairest days of the Christian faith. From this we infer, that it is at all times Christian and

Catholic to give to its administration a form, by which all the living powers of a given ecclesiastical circumference may be harmonized, and so developed and diffused in operations full of blessings. If it be objected, that this organization of the Church, as it existed in the first ages of Christianity, disappeared with the forms of early faith, and subsequently took a shape more appropriate to the ages through which it was obliged to pass, it must indeed be admitted, that such transformations took place. The clergy and laity lost their share in the management of Church affairs, and that chiefly through their own deterioration, owing to their intellectual and moral incapacity, their want of Church spirit, by their appetite for quarrels and discussions, by the self-seeking disturbances and hindrances to which the government of the Church was subjected. But it is none the less true, that the present position of the Church, and its immediate necessities, imperatively reclaim a rallying of all its existing powers, and consequently a recurrence to the times in which this conjunction of forces, this union of Bishop, Priest, and Layman, for the common benefit, was practically carried out. Such a union, such a co-operation of clergy and people, is a very decidedly expressed demand of our contemporaries, and is as earnestly anticipated. The same spirit which manifests itself in political matters, works also in the Church. In the one case, as in the other, men will have their parts in public interests of grave importance to themselves. The constitutional and democratic principle has penetrated the nations, and every where, if the Republic does not already exist, *the monarchy at least takes the constitutional form.*

Pure monarchy has become an impossibility. It is equally true in the Church. The purely monarchical government of a diocese, for example, runs in a direction so opposite to all the characteristics of the age, that such a thing, or at least its perpetuation, side by side with the constitutional and popular vitality of the State, appears possible in no other way, than by the apostacy of the entire intelligence of the community, or by the prevalence of a religious indifference the most complete. The revival of Synodical institutions, so long demanded, is nothing else than a product of the universal spirit of the age. . . . It only remains to give to Synods, and especially to Diocesan Synods, such an organization, that, as in primitive times, Clergy and Laity may take a substantial part in the concerns of the diocese ; and that all the prominent intelligence, worth, and influence of the community at large, may be brought out and set in motion, for the benefit of all. . . . No one interests himself in a matter in which he can take no real part. It is only in view of his responsibility and importance, that a man concerns himself in anything with earnestness and with relish. What we want is, this revival, this exertion of all the existing powers of the Church, and their effective composition for that purpose ; nor will any evil come of commotion and agitation about it."

And this (the above,) from a priest of the Church of Rome, and a Professor in one of her Universities, published in 1849 ! And is Germany to have—has she already—another Luther ? Pity, that John Baptist Von Hirscher should now be in his 66th year. The scope of his principles must necessarily lead to a renunciation of Papal authority. Immediately on the

publication of this work, he was assailed on all sides by the Papists, accused of Jansenism, and of the purpose of setting up a national German Church. The book was put into the "Index" by the Sacred Congregation at Rome. His translator says :—"He has produced many works, but his reputation rests chiefly on his *Christian Ethics*, which has given him an enviable reputation throughout Germany, as the *Fenelon of the Nineteenth Century*."

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE MISSION OF THE AMERICAN EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

IN the progress of this work, we have necessarily been obliged to keep more or less in view, and in sundry aspects, the great topic announced at the head of this chapter ; and it was not inconsistent with our main design. It was scarcely possible to write a chapter without having something to do with it. The *genius* and *mission* of the American Episcopal Church are so blended, that in treating of one, we find ourselves not only by the side of the other, but often at its very heart. Nevertheless, there are details in the mission of the American Episcopal Church, which will occupy a separate chapter of considerable interest and importance.

In the first place, as Christians, we recognize a providential government of the world, with the main design of redeeming human society from its vices, by means of Christianity ; and the Christian scheme, though under different names, runs back, not only to Abraham, but to Adam. In the second chapter, we have given some reasons why this work of redemption, as a system of means, must be slow in its progress, or what to man will appear so. From this more enlarged view, we desire to call attention to the great fact—a very comprehensive one—of the discovery and settlement of the American Continent

by Christians. Next, to the fact—also comprehensive—of the rescue of the most enlightened portion of the Continent from European domination, in the establishment of American independence; and thirdly, to the fact of the organization of the American Episcopal Church, as given in a former chapter of this work, together with its subsequent rise and extension, down to this time. In this last fact is seen a new and independent column of the Catholic Church, under the Protestant banner.

We desire also to call attention to the fact, that the greatest statesmen and philosophers of some ages past, have prognosticated a new era of Christian civilization, as the result of this great movement; and it hardly need be said, that this era has already opened, and is now in the full tide of hopeful progress. It is a new start of humanity, under new forms, with new impulses, new motives, new prospects, and a wide, vast field, which, even at this early period, presents a vista of the future, of absorbing interest, and of great attraction. From the decayed and decaying societies of the old world, with all the causes of decay shaken from its shoulders and plucked from its heart, a new state of society has appeared upon the stage of this western hemisphere, and is now in full career of successful experiment. Every year opens before it some new and more attractive features of its destiny. Every year expands the vision of the future. Already it is no more East; it is all West. The most populous regions of the globe are now in the West, and near to us. But a little while ago they were in the East,

and far off. Far and near now are not measured by geographical lines, but by facility of commercial and social intercourse. The great Pacific, its islands and its shores, are now in our neighbourhood, and Asia is at our doors—all in the West.

To every other column of Protestantism, on this Continent, we say, "God speed." It can only help the American Episcopal Church, whose mission, under Providence, in this great field, we have now to consider.

And, first, we have to remark, that the American Episcopal Church is an acknowledged branch of the Catholic Church, holding to the Catholic creeds and usages, under the Protestant denomination, with an Episcopate at her head, of well established descent from the Apostles. We are not aware, that any of the other Protestant denominations of the country assert the claim of Catholicity; and only two of them, we believe, exist under a nominal Episcopacy, one of which, the Wesleyans, obtained it from presbyterial hands. We should be willing, certainly, to state the claims of all, if we knew precisely what they are. For the most part, we believe, they are not desirous of being called Catholic, and they are generally contented with a history in which is traced a connexion with the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century. Some—and this class is very numerous—who hold to the principle of lay ordination, have no interest in the teachings of antiquity, so far as their ministry is concerned. But the American Episcopal Church not only claims to be Catholic, but she believes in the Apostolic succession of her Episcopacy. Both these principles with her are

vital. On that of Episcopacy, we need not enlarge, it is well understood. Catholicity, perhaps, is not well understood; and here we have only room to say that along with Episcopacy, it implies in the first place a holding of the Catholic creeds, as handed down from the primitive ages, and verified by historical sequence. The Catholic creeds suppose, that certain errors preceded them. Else there was no need of the Creed. And when we find those errors and the creeds in history, as correlatives, both are verified as facts; and if the creeds, with such an origin, have a reasonable foundation in the Bible, as determined by its explicit and implicit statements, they are not only credible, but well established as the belief of the primitive ages. Besides the Catholic creeds, there are certain Catholic usages, implied in a Catholic Church, verified as above as descending from the primitive times, among the chief of which are liturgical forms of public worship.

* The leading and prominent characteristics of the Catholic faith in addition to the Apostles' Creed, we believe, are generally held to be those which were put forward and affirmed, consecutively and harmoniously, by the six Œcumenical Councils of Nice, in the year 325; of Constantinople, in 381; of Ephesus, in 431; of Chalcedon, in 451; and of the second and third of Constantinople, in 553 and 680. To these may be added, as of concurrent and generally received authority, the acts of the provincial Councils, of Ancyra, in the year 313; of Neocæsarea, in the same or next year; of Gangra, about 330; of Antioch, in 341: and of Laodicea, in or about 365. The Apostolical canons, so called, are allowed to be of the greatest antiquity, and are supposed to have had their origin, some from the Apostles by tradition, and others in the latter part of the second, and in the former part of the third century, by the action of different synods.—*Hammond*.

The Creeds, and the Canons, so far as they relate to faith, c

We have not space to be more particular, and we have no purpose of making an historical argument. We have only wished to state in substance, what, as we suppose, constitutes a Catholic Church, and to show the position which the American Episcopal Church occupies in this view. We suppose her claim to an Apostolic ministry is unquestionable, and that of a Catholic Church equally good ; both of which are important considerations for the purpose we now have in view. We are not aware, that any other Protestant denomination in the United States, has these attributes in full development, or any that is particularly desirous of claiming them. We conclude, therefore, that the American Episcopal Church stands alone on this ground, and alone occupies this field, as a Catholic Church, under the Protestant name.

We remark, then, first, that one important part of the mission of the American Episcopal Church, in the American Protestant world, is to preserve the integrity and soundness of the Catholic faith, as

the above named authorities, together with the Apostles' Creed, are generally claimed to constitute the faith of the Church Catholic, chiefly as it relates to the nature and character of Christ, and to the nature and character of man, in distinction from, and in opposition to, the heresies which had sprung up in those early ages. Of course, the Catholic faith proper, thus derived, is not fully comprehensive of the entire range of Christian belief. But the points specified in these documents, have ever been regarded as vital and fundamental, and essential to the existence of a Catholic Church. They involve questions, which are springing up in all ages, in one form or another ; and therefore, a permanent and orthodox settlement of these questions for all time, is properly denominated a **CATHOLIC FAITH.**

handed down from the primitive ages. It cannot but be seen, that a faith announced in full, as to all its leading and fundamental articles, in the daily service of a Church, occupies a very different position from a faith published in certain standards, and occasionally taught in catechisms, aside from the services of the Church. The impressions of catechetical instruction in childhood, though of great value, when followed up by liturgical inculcation of "line upon line, precept upon precept, here a little and there a little," every day, are nevertheless evanescent, when not so reiterated, as all experience certifies. Who, that could repeat every word of the Westminster Catechism in childhood, retains any considerable portion of it in riper years, under the old system of New England teaching? The obvious result of that mode, has led to its almost entire abandonment, and the substitution of shorter Sunday School and other catechisms, ordinarily, we believe, having no other, and no higher authority than that of the individual authors! Think of the Catholic faith of Christianity, subjected to such a system! How soon will it be changed! How greatly has it already been changed! Every Congregational Church, so called, in the country, has its own articles of faith, seldom copies of each other, but a copy of the views of the minister who may have given it to them. This is never read in public, except when a person is admitted to full communion, and will naturally soon be forgotten by all. The Presbyterian societies, we believe, are generally under the same system, though they have a public

standard, which every member may have, if he chooses, but which, as we apprehend, and according to our observation in former years, is seldom read. We are not so well acquainted with the habits of other Protestant denominations of the country ; but rarely, if ever, are a creed and the main points of faith, incorporated with the forms of public worship. And what has been the consequence ?

In the first place, Unitarianism had become extensively established in the country, before any attempt at a remedy was made ; and those attempts were no farther effective than, perhaps, in some degree to arrest the progress of the heresy. For it was established ; and ages may roll away, before the true Catholic faith can by any means supersede it. It is, to a great extent, a popular and diffusive leaven in the religion of the country. Next, from this controversy, resulted the necessity or desire for some modifications in the orthodox faith so called, in distinction from Unitarianism ; in order, apparently, to adapt it, in some degree, to the style of reasoning which Unitarianism had introduced. Hence the new school of Divinity in New England, which first took hold of the nature of man, and made a new thing of it, as compared with the previous and orthodox faith ; and later, as an offshoot from this, apparently, a bold approach has been made to the nature of the Deity, and the Son of God is thought to be essentially lowered in his character. We desire not to stand as umpire between the parties in these debates. We only allude to the facts. There has been a change. New phases of Christian theology

have appeared. Even Andover is alleged to be suspect. The new theology, so called, made its way into the Presbyterian ranks, in the middle and southern States, and some twenty years ago, rent asunder their General Assembly into two nearly equal parts, one called "Old School," and the other "New School," occupying the same ground, and subsisting under the same ecclesiastical forms, but irreconcilably opposed to each other, and both claiming to be the true Presbyterian Church. Here, again, we are only stating facts, without claiming to judge between the parties. Next the Wesleyan body was rent in twain, the Northern part going one way, and the Southern another. This division, we are aware, was chiefly effected by the slave question; but it indicates a want of firmness in the original compact. Could a branch of the Catholic Church, bound together by the Catholic creeds, and Catholic usages, have been so disturbed? We think not.

The above recited facts are signal, and of great significancy, as to the matter we now have under consideration. We might descend to minor details of controversy, both as to doctrine and discipline, which have overrun the religious world, in the United States, within the last half century, all resulting, apparently, from the want of authoritative standards, and from want of respect to the standards, such as they are. For the most part, these standards lie on the shelves of private libraries, and seem to have little influence in forming the common mind.

Behold, in contrast to all this, the Book of Common Prayer of the American Episcopal Church, and its influence. There is the whole Catholic faith from the primitive ages, handed down unimpaired, which every member of that Church carries in his hand, when he goes to worship; and in every daily service he himself goes over the whole ground of that faith, and takes part in its recitation. The Catholic faith assumes a stereotype character in his mind. He knows no other, wants no other, thinks of no other; and that is as familiar to his mind as the A B C elements of a child's course of education are to him. Bishops, ministers, and people have the same guide, from which they never depart, and never think of departing. And there is no controversy about its authority and correctness. Those who choose to study its history, will find that it is worthy of all the respect that is entertained for it. Ages may roll away without the slightest alteration; though it is not claimed that it is perfect in all its orderings. It is, however, a bond of union, and guide of faith. That and the polity of the Church constitute a harmonious system; one of the functions of the latter being to protect the former.

Those religious bodies of the country, whose faith corresponds substantially with that of the Episcopal Church, have already begun to see and to acknowledge the importance of the place which the Book of Common Prayer occupies, in relation to the general mind; and some of their ministers have been heard to thank God for it. Comparatively destitute of controlling standards, and none of them occupying

a like advantageous position with the Prayer Book, they have looked with dismay at the exposures to wreck of the common faith, by the agitations and convulsions of the religious world, and by the boldness with which so many influential theologians and religionists have put forward new doctrinal theories, and new theories of society. The Rev. Dr. Lord, President of Dartmouth College, in a letter to Professor Park, of Andover, deploring these departures from the faith of the New England fathers, says:—“If I felt I had no friend in respect to the views I am about to express, I should not choose to write, but to die. Our venerable ‘standing order’ is broken up by innumerable greedy and licentious sects, that substitute philanthropy for religion, and reform for the ordinances of God. Such unequivocal signs exist, that a great change is coming over New England; and not of New England alone, but of the whole country.” And how could it be otherwise, where there is no anchor of the Catholic faith to hold fast by? Amidst all this turbulence of opinion, of all these modifications of theological systems, and of all this change from one opinion to another, making a very whirl of religious agitation, there stands the Book of Common Prayer of the American Episcopal Church, intact; the same from age to age; guiding and controlling the faith of the ministers and members of the Church; read every Sunday in all the Churches, and in many every day; examined for the sake of knowing what it is, in all its parts; accepted as known, but not made a subject of controversy; cherished within the Church, and

commanding the respect of all without. Speaking of the public generally, nobody sees the standards of other religious bodies. They are not before the public, in a manner to command attention, and to have influence on the general mind—scarcely, as we have seen, to have much influence on the minds of those who profess to believe in them. But the Book of Common Prayer is before all the world, is seen, and more or less known, by all the world. The Catholic faith therein set forth, is an every day lesson of all who attend the ministrations of the Episcopal Church ; and it goes out upon the public, so that most people cannot fail to know something of what it is, from this source.

It is only by such consideration of the actual condition of other religious bodies, of the religious state of the country, and of the position of the American Episcopal Church in relation to them all, with her Book of Common Prayer in her hands, accessible and open to all, and more or less known to all, that the importance of the mission of this Church, in maintaining the Catholic faith, under a Protestant ensign, can be fully appreciated. She was as nothing in the beginning, doubting of her own ability to stand and rise. Then she had little influence outside of her own pale. Now she is eminent. It is now her office and her mission, in the providence of God, as a Protestant and Catholic Church, to hold up the Catholic faith, and maintain its integrity, in this western hemisphere. If she does not, who will ? Certainly, the ability to do it, in other Protestant ranks, has, in a great degree, failed ; and in many

respectable quarters, it is acknowledged to be beyond hope. Some of their articles of belief, always held by the Catholic Church as fundamental, have already been entirely changed ; some are essentially modified ; and others are presented in very equivocal forms. But the Book of Common Prayer remains the same—the fast anchor of the Catholic faith of the American Protestant world.

Another important part of the mission of the American Episcopal Church, is, in the first place, to gather within her pale, those loose, but very worthy religious elements, which, upon reflection, have become dissatisfied with the religious bodies to which they have belonged, and desire precisely the home which the Episcopal Church offers to them. They have not desired the change without reflection, or without understanding the subject. They see the beauty, order, and salutary discipline of the Episcopal Church ; and, what is more, they have discovered her paramount claims. The American Episcopal Church has that in her to attract their attention, and to command their respect. She was set up for scrutiny, and as the choice of such minds. It would be a poor recommendation of her, if, when thoroughly examined by such inquirers, a preference should not be given to her ; and to all such she offers the home which they desire. It is a part of her mission.

In the next place, she offers a refuge to that numerous class of persons, who have been tossed to and fro on the turbulent sea of religious agitation, and who have become tired of agitation. They are sincere, and begin to desire a quiet religious life,

that shall be a protection against the restless turmoil to which they have been subjected. The religious state of the country is continually producing a large class of such candidates. They have religion in them, and that is what the Church wants. It only requires the chastening influence of this new position, to burn quietly, to shine, and to bring forth fruit. It is a part of the mission of the American Episcopal Church to receive them, and to affect this transformation of religious character. From the above two quarters, some of the largest accessions to the Episcopal Church are constantly being made.

In the third place, it is a part of the mission of the American Episcopal Church to go out and seek after the lost, who have never belonged to any fold, and to bring them in. These may be found everywhere, among the poor and among the rich. The Church is a missionary body by her original constitution, and can never be excused from engaging in missionary enterprises, at home and abroad, so long as any of the lost remain unreclaimed. The missionary spirit of Christianity is, in its very essence, a spirit of aggression on the domain of the prince of darkness. It is to go out "into the highways and hedges, and compel them to come in ;" it is to visit the hovels of wretchedness, as well as the mansions of the rich ; it is, in a word, to carry the Gospel to every creature.

Again : a very important part of the mission of the American Episcopal Church, is to support and make good her professed character of *Protestant*, in relation to the claims of the Church of Rome on this Continent.

A great battle against Popery is yet to be fought here, and the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States cannot be recreant to her name and to her God. She cannot in honour, much less in duty, shrink from the position and attitude she originally assumed, in relation to the great Apostate and Blasphemer, "THE MOTHER OF HARLOTS AND ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH," at the sight of whom, considering what she once was as a pure virgin, and what she had become by prostitution, the inspired prophet of God "wondered with a great admiration. And the Angel said unto me : Wherefore didst thou marvel? I will tell thee the MYSTERY."

The last hope of the Church of Rome is turned to the American Continent. It is here the great battle will be fought ; and there is only one form of Christianity here, only one branch of the Catholic Church, the claims of which she will be forced to respect. We say not this in derogation of other Protestant denominations ; but only in reference to the fact, that the American Episcopal Church is the only Christian Commonwealth on this Continent, whose pretensions will be recognized by the Church of Rome, as having an affinity to the Church of the primitive ages. This she can never deny with effect on the public mind. The Church of England was originally independent of the Church of Rome, as an Apostolic institution, and an equal ; and the Protestant Reformation only brought her back, so far, to her primitive condition and rights. The American Revolution consummated the work of return to the primitive platform, and left the American branch of the Catholic Church free and

independent. The history of her descent from primitive times, independent of Rome, is well and incontrovertibly established. While the Church of Rome, for many centuries, has been clothing herself with the garments of the Woman of the Apocalypse, and drinking "the wine of her fornications," till her prostitution has become hopeless of all reform, Providence was gradually preparing the way for a complete and perfect rescue of one branch of the Catholic Church from all entanglements with the institutions of human device, and from all connection with the political fabrics of earth. The American Episcopal Church comes at last upon the stage, answering precisely to this description. She is ready and fully armed for the high destiny that awaits her. In the forms of primitive purity, unincumbered with the rubbish of accumulated corruption, she stands forth armed with truth—the truth of history and the truth of God—to face, like David, the gigantic form of idolatry and heathenism, which has been profanely baptized with the Christian name. She is challenged by Providence to go forth into the field, and to bring and throw down at the foot of the Cross, the trophies of her victory.

Finally: The most interesting and most important part of the Mission of the American Episcopal Church, remains to be seen in the vast field of Christian enterprise, which is opened by the extended and growing empire of American freedom and American institutions. All prophecy of the expansive power of American institutions is put to the blush, and the book is laid upon the shelf, as

utterly insufficient to describe the realities, which crowd on the vision of beholders. In a few short years, now gone by, the heretofore unexplored regions of the heart, and of the Western slope of this Continent, have begun to teem with the movements and activities of American enterprise ; and from our Pacific border, we now look out on a new Western world of vast interest and attraction, in the waters and islands of the Pacific, and in the Eastern nations of Asia. North America is capable of sustaining some hundreds of millions of people, in the use only of the present arts of life. But the arts of life are improving more rapidly than the increase of population on the globe. What a prospect is this for the American empire ! And that same empire is the future Missionary domain of the American Episcopal Church.

THE END.

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